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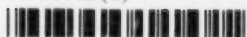
<i>President:</i>	Mr. Gaspar Martins	(Angola)
<i>Members:</i>	Bulgaria	Mr. Raytchev
	Cameroon	Mr. Chungong Ayafor
	Chile	Mr. Muñoz
	China	Mr. Wang Guangya
	France	Mr. De La Sablière
	Germany	Mr. Trautwein
	Guinea	Mr. Sow
	Mexico	Mr. Pujalte
	Pakistan	Mr. Akram
	Russian Federation	Mr. Konuzin
	Spain	Ms. Menéndez
	Syrian Arab Republic	Mr. Mekdad
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Emyr Jones Parry
	United States of America	Mr. Negroponte

Agenda

The situation in the Great Lakes region

Report of the Secretary-General on preparations for an International Conference on the Great Lakes region (S/2003/1099)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.25 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Great Lakes region

Report of the Secretary-General on preparations for an International Conference on the Great Lakes region (S/2003/1099)

The President: In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 37 of its provisional rules of procedure to the representative of the presidency of the African Union, Mr. Francisco Madeira, Minister of the Presidency for Parliamentary and Diplomatic Issues of Mozambique.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

On behalf of the Council, I extend a warm welcome to the representative of the presidency of the African Union, the Minister of the Presidency for Parliamentary and Diplomatic Issues of Mozambique.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Madeira (Mozambique), took a seat at the Council table.

The President: In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to invite the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania to participate in the discussion, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

On behalf of the Council, I extend a warm welcome to the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of the United Republic of Tanzania, Mr. Abdulkader Shareef.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Shareef (United Republic of Tanzania), took a seat at the Council table.

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Italy, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on

the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Spatafora (Italy), took a seat at the Council table.

The President: In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to the Special Envoy of the Chairperson of the Commission of the African Union for the Great Lakes Region, Mr. Keli Walubita.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

On behalf of the Council, I extend a warm welcome to the Special Envoy of the Chairperson of the Commission of the African Union for the Great Lakes Region.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Walubita (African Union), took a seat at the Council table.

In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations and in the absence of objection, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Ibrahima Fall, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the Great Lakes region.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I welcome Mr. Fall and invite him to take a seat at the Council table.

Expression of sympathy to the Government and people of Turkey and the Government and people of the United Kingdom in connection with the recent terrorist acts in Istanbul

The President: On behalf of the members of the Security Council, I wish to express to the Government and people of Turkey, as well as the Government and people of the United Kingdom, our heartfelt sympathy for the innocent lives lost as a result of the terrorists acts in Istanbul today and over the weekend, which the Council strongly condemns.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations. Members have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the preparations for an international conference on the Great Lakes Region (S/2003/1099).

As there is no list of speakers, I would like to invite Council members to indicate to the Secretariat if they wish to take the floor.

I welcome the presence of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, and I invite him to take the floor.

The Secretary-General (*spoke in French*): You have before you, Mr. President, the report (S/2003/1099) in which I have described the preparations for an international conference on the Great Lakes region. This is an old idea which has been revived by developments in the situation on the ground.

Everyone knows that conflicts and instability in one country of the Great Lakes region, even if the result of internal factors, rarely remain internal for very long. They tend quickly to spread because of the close social, economic, cultural and linguistic links between the inhabitants of the entire region. That is why a comprehensive approach is necessary to attack the underlying and interdependent causes of conflict in the region.

(*spoke in English*)

That is why, ever since its presidential statement on Rwanda of 14 October 1994 (S/PRST/1994/59), the Council has supported an international conference on the Great Lakes. This support was reiterated in numerous subsequent statements and resolutions, including the presidential statement (S/PRST/1997/22) of 24 April 1997 on the Great Lakes region and, earlier this year, in resolutions 1457 (2003) and 1493 (2003) on the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

The first exploratory steps towards the organization of such a conference were taken between 1996 and 1997 by my Special Envoy for the Great Lakes. To expedite the process, in 1999 I appointed a Special Representative based in Nairobi to consult with the leaders of the region on the objectives and the organization of such a conference.

These consultations were undertaken in close partnership with the African Union, on the basis of a

concept paper which I submitted to them. As a result, the core countries — Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania, and Uganda — agreed to the proposed international conference, and the preparatory process was launched in June 2003 in Nairobi.

The Nairobi meeting was essential in determining the future direction that the conference would take and in defining its objectives, themes, structure, composition and tentative timetable. The core countries stressed that the conference should be action oriented and focus on specific themes: peace and security, democracy and good governance, economic development and regional integration, and humanitarian and social issues. The core countries also stressed the principle of regional ownership. To this end, they have established national preparatory committees. In addition, the African Union has been, and will remain, a full partner of the United Nations in every stage of the process.

Equally vital is the need for international partnership. While the Governments of the region bear responsibility to consolidate peace in their countries, the international community has a duty to assist them at all levels, as it has done and is doing in other parts of the world. Indeed, the conference requires wide and sustained participation, not only from the Governments of the core countries but also from civil society, neighbours and friends in the region, subregional organizations and international development partners.

There is a new dynamic in the region, and we must capitalize on it. People are becoming more aware of the need to address peace, security and development issues regionally to consolidate advances made in national peace processes. This has helped set the stage for the preparations of the conference to proceed as planned. So, too, did the meeting held during the general debate in September, when the Declaration of Principles on Good-Neighbourly Relations and Cooperation was adopted among countries of the region.

Obviously, there will be a relationship between progress in the peace processes in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Burundi and progress in the conference. And there will also be a relationship between our ability to meet certain challenges and the success of the conference. One challenge is for the core countries themselves to find a way to go further than

they have to date in addressing in detail the substantive issues of the conference. Another is to ensure that adequate financial, technical and human resources are made available, including for the Office of my Special Representative for the Great Lakes region.

To meet these challenges, I invite all involved to work closely with my Special Representative in support of the Conference. I also encourage all development partners to assist in providing the necessary support and resources to the effort. And I look forward to the strong support of the Council for the conference — a conference that is long overdue and which holds the promise of a better future for the long-suffering people of the countries of the Great Lakes region.

The President: I thank the Secretary-General for his statement and thank him for honouring us with his presence at this meeting.

I now give the floor to the Minister of the Presidency for Parliamentary and Diplomatic Issues of Mozambique, Mr. Francisco Madeira, who is representing the Presidency of the African Union.

Mr. Madeira (African Union): We are gathering at a moment of hope and optimism for the Great Lakes region. We in the African Union and the United Nations have reasons to rejoice at the developments taking place in this region because, having known where the whole drama started and seen all the things that have taken place in the region, we are in a position to gauge the real meaning of what is happening there at the present moment.

This region has, until very recently, witnessed some of the cruelest acts a human being can inflict on another human being. The peoples of this region have, for far too long, endured some of the most brutal civil strife and absurd forms of invasion and occupation of one independent country by another. We have witnessed the most despicable acts of genocide in Rwanda, which claimed the lives of hundreds of thousands of innocent civilians. For far too long, the Congolese people have been denied their sovereignty, independence and dignity. They have been despised, vilified and martyred. They have fled Congo in the thousands to live as refugees in neighbouring countries.

Despite the complexity of the whole situation, important strides have been made in the region. The sun seems to be rising on the horizon and the peoples

of the Great Lakes region are defying their pessimism and beginning to follow the path of peace and stability again. They are taking steps to reaffirm their threatened sovereignty and identity. They are rediscovering the virtues and advantages of life in harmony and good-neighbourliness and they are creating conditions for the economic and social development of their region.

Indeed, what is happening in the Great Lakes region today is the blossoming of what the peoples of this great region have always wanted and what both the African Union and the United Nations have always advocated, stood for, invested in and tried to help them achieve.

In an environment of increased mutual suspicion and growing scepticism, the Congolese stakeholders signed the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement of July 1999 with our support, persuasion and encouragement. In encouraging the Congolese to enter into such an agreement, we were motivated by the desire to help remove the main obstacles to our all-inclusive process of national reconciliation through the drafting of a new deal among the Congolese people. This deal would set the country on the course of lasting peace and sustained development.

The cessation of hostilities between the Congolese parties, the disengagement of foreign troops from the conflict and the negotiation of their withdrawal by addressing the neighbouring countries' legitimate security concerns through an effective neutralization of the negative forces operating from the Congo, all these were important steps in the creation of an environment conducive to genuine dialogue among the Congolese themselves.

The Lusaka Agreement was not perfect and did not satisfy everyone, but it reflected what was possible at the moment. It contained important prerequisites that would keep the parties from losing sight of what needed to be addressed in the complex Congolese reality. It proved decisive in bringing the process to where it is today.

But no matter how perfect the Lusaka Agreement could have been, it would have led nowhere if the Congolese parties themselves had not shown the commitment to move forward and work for a radical change of the status quo in their country. It took time for all the stakeholders to realize and come to grips with the fact that a deal, a genuine deal where no Congolese would be a loser but every Congolese would

win something, was the only option left and the only way out of a crisis that has been haunting Congo since independence. In the end, reason prevailed and Sun City was the result of a common desire by Congo's leadership to come face to face with their own situation and rebuild their country on a new foundation.

The construction of the new Congo on a new basis has started, and we, in the African Union, are happy to see that the implementation of the Sun City agreement, although still fraught with many challenges, is on a good course and every Congolese wants it to succeed. Indeed, the institutions of transition, as provided for in the Sun City agreement, though still fragile, are in place and are striving to produce results.

Despite the magnitude of the Congolese crisis and despite the fact that the country has, for quite some time, been divided by the force of arms into zones of exclusive influence and jurisdiction of different armed organizations, the idea that the country should preserve its territorial integrity and remain united, with only one army, has prevailed and is being upheld by everyone. All parties have agreed that democracy, good governance and the rule of law are values that must, as a mark of necessity, guide all State behaviour.

These are important strides. With them, Congo rediscovers itself and vows to re-embrace the lofty ideals of the abandoned National Sovereign Conference, which was viewed by the majority of the Congolese population as a solid foundation for the democratic process in the country.

This is an extremely good beginning, and we in the African Union, the United Nations and the wider international community must continue to lend our support, advice and encouragement. In doing so, we must not lose sight of the fact that it is not yet all roses in the Congo. The process is still delicate and afflicted with weaknesses that, if not properly tended to at this early stage, may seriously compromise the ultimate objectives the Congolese have set for themselves.

We cannot emphasize enough that, whatever good is being done today in the Congo, the situation will remain precarious unless and until it is identified with and owned by the Congolese peoples themselves. History tells us that before Sun City, all the Congolese leaders who came to power after Patrice Lumumba's demise were maintained in power or came to that position through the support of foreign entities. Given the nature of that support, the result was the alienation

of the Congolese people, the disintegration of Congo's State institutions and a total destruction of the economic, social and political environment of the country. Therefore, despite our closeness to the Congolese people and the immense trust they put in us, we should at all times avoid the temptation to profit from the weaknesses of that country.

Congo is almost starting from scratch. The task before the newly appointed transitional authorities — and that of the Government that will come after it — is simply of mammoth proportions. Since the Democratic Republic of the Congo is the gravitational centre of the Great Lakes region, any positive or negative development that takes place there will impinge, positively or negatively, not only on the Congo herself, but also on the rest of the countries of the region.

The wars that affected the Congo from 1996 until recently and brought so much suffering to its people were, to a large extent, motivated and fuelled by the exportation of conflicts begun in the neighbouring countries. The massive movement of populations — from the Congo to its neighbours and vice versa — caused by those wars put much strain on the inhabitants, resources and infrastructure not only of the Congo itself, but of all the neighbouring countries, making the crisis a common denominator for the entire region.

We in the African Union are happy that the Congo today is free of foreign occupation and domination. What is important now is that decisive steps be taken to ensure that the practice of occupying other peoples' countries — for whatever reason — does not occur again, for that practice not only reminds us of our own sad past, but sets a very dangerous and explosive precedent with great potential to perpetuate crisis and instability in the region.

That does not mean that we should ignore the security concerns of Congo's neighbours. Those concerns are real and legitimate, and we should together continue to strive to ensure that the solutions envisaged so far are quickly, effectively and verifiably implemented, thus easing the intense mutual suspicion that mars the relations among neighbours who are condemned to continue to live together for the rest of their lives.

But the region's interest in the Congo is not limited only to security guarantees. Congo is a big country; Congo is a big market; Congo is endowed

with many resources, a huge population and immense business opportunities. Congo is attractive to all of us. We all want to interact with Congo, and it is good that we do so. What is needed is that such interaction be carried out on the basis of healthy principles. We should endeavour to help Congo regain its statehood and strengthen its institutions, while striving to establish correct and appropriate bilateral and multilateral business and other relations with that important neighbour. I know this may sound naïve, but I see no other sound way to interact with Congo in a peaceful, sustainable and harmonious way.

We cannot but rejoice at the fact that Rwanda, which has been particularly affected by the generalized crisis gripping the Great Lakes region, has just emerged from presidential and parliamentary elections. That event — happening, as it did, less than 10 years after the genocide of 1994 — is a crucial step forward and an important contribution to the overall effort to restore peace, stability and reconciliation to the region. Efforts must continue to be made so as to ensure that every Rwandan can return home and freely go about his life.

The agreement signed last Sunday between the Burundi transitional Government and the armed movement, the Conseil national pour la défense de la démocratie-Front pour la défense de la démocratie (CNDD-FDD) is another milestone in the right direction. It makes us feel that the Great Lakes region is coming together again and acquiring the status of a region where, very soon, peace and stability will be common currency — a region that will become a melting pot where all peoples of our continent and of the world at large can freely and easily have access to and meet to trade and exchange ideas. The Parti pour la libération du peuple hutu/Forces nationales pour la libération (PALIPEHUTU/FNL) must be denied the possibility of preventing that from coming true. That organization must be persuaded to join in and make its contribution to the peace revolution taking place in the Great Lakes region.

It is high time that we stop the wars on our continent. There can be no sustainable development in the Great Lakes region without an environment of lasting peace and security. In that connection, the African Union would like to appeal very strongly to the Security Council to discharge its responsibilities through a more positive attitude towards supporting the African Mission in Burundi.

Armed conflicts and the threat thereof have, to a large extent, been responsible for the exasperating economic and social backwardness of a significant number of our countries as we move to divert considerable resources from socio-economic objectives to buying military hardware to wage war or defend ourselves against armed aggressions — real, potential or imaginary. We have come a long way so far in our quest to rid the continent and the region of armed strife, and we have scored considerable successes in that endeavour. The New Partnership for Africa's Development is the African Union vision and the road map to extricate the African continent from poverty, backwardness and underdevelopment. The implementation of that political, economic and social action programme will continue to be seriously compromised if instability and wars are allowed to continue to haunt Africa.

One of my country's priorities as Chair of the African Union is to work hand in hand, in earnest, with the Commission of the African Union to ensure that the protocol relating to the establishment of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union is signed, ratified and quickly acceded to by the largest possible number of member States so that it can enter into force. That is because we strongly believe that the Peace and Security Council of the African Union can be a valuable tool in helping to avert, ease and solve the conflict situations, insecurity and crises on our continent.

President Chissano, in his capacity as Chairperson of our continental organization, has committed himself to devoting particular attention to the remaining pockets of instability in the Great Lakes region and elsewhere on our continent and to mobilizing the best skills our continent possesses to help find a speedy and lasting solution to them. Given the particular nature of those conflicts, he has — together with His Excellency Mr. Alpha Omar Konaré, Chairperson of the Commission of the African Union — discussed the possibility of requesting a number of serving heads of State to get personally involved and to lend their skills in the search for appropriate solutions to these conflicts.

We view with satisfaction the fact that the United Nations and all its partners have adopted a global approach to the situation in the Great Lakes region and are developing strategies that will address the reality of the Great Lakes in all its perspectives and view them as

a problem affecting not just one or another country, but the commonality of the countries and populations of the region.

The forthcoming conference on peace, security and sustainable development in the Great Lakes region represents a great challenge — a unique opportunity for all of us to come up with ideas and strategies that will truly contribute to shaping a future of stability, hope and reconciliation in the afflicted Great Lakes region.

The President: I now give the floor to His Excellency Mr. Abdulkader Shareef, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of the United Republic of Tanzania.

Mr. Shareef (United Republic of Tanzania): I should like, on behalf of the countries of the Great Lakes region, to express our gratitude to you, Mr. President, and to all the members of the Security Council, for having convened this special meeting to discuss the proposed international conference for the Great Lakes region. This is a clear demonstration of the solidarity and interest of the United Nations and the African Union in the development of the Great Lakes region as a zone of peace and stability and, therefore, of the urgent need to resolve pending security issues and to address the socio-economic problems facing the region.

We recall with appreciation the mission of the members of the Security Council earlier this year to the countries of the Great Lakes region. It was an encouraging expression of concern over the situation there and of solidarity with the Governments and people of the region. The deployment of French peacekeeping troops and the subsequent expansion and presence of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo is contributing significantly in the stabilization and restoration of peace in the Ituri region of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The human rights situation has also improved remarkably. We thank the entire peacekeeping mission for the work that it is undertaking.

We are particularly appreciative that, after almost a decade of intensive consultations among various stakeholders, a consensus has finally been reached on convening an international conference on the Great Lakes region. In this regard, we would like to express our gratitude to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, and his Special Representative for the Great

Lakes Region, Mr. Ibrahima Fall, for their tireless efforts in building both regional and international consensus for this important conference.

We also owe special gratitude and appreciation to the African Union for its political encouragement and involvement in preparations for the conference. The Chairman of the African Union is providing needed support to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, who is working closely with the Special Envoy of the Chairperson of the African Union Commission. The partnership between the United Nations and the African Union will continue to be crucial for the success of the conference.

At the first meeting of the National Coordinators of the international conference for the Great Lakes region, held in Nairobi, Kenya, from 23 to 24 June 2003, the six core countries unanimously welcomed the proposed conference. The region also endorsed four themes: peace and security; economic development and regional integration; democracy and good governance; and social and humanitarian issues. In our view, those themes adequately cover the main challenges facing the Great Lakes region. The National Coordinators also agreed on the structure and timetable for the preparatory process.

The proposal to hold an international conference on the Great Lakes region has come at an appropriate time, when all signs indicate that conflicts in that region are nearing an end. The holding of the conference will thus consolidate the overall achievements by the countries of the region and, in particular, the progress made in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Burundi peace processes.

In this context, we welcome the agreements reached in the Democratic Republic of the Congo for the installation of an all-inclusive transitional Government, which will prepare that country for a democratic political dispensation in two years' time. In the same vein, we also welcome the Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement for Burundi, signed on 28 August 2000, which constitutes the cornerstone of the Burundi peace process. We congratulate the Transitional Government of Burundi and the Conseil national pour la défense de la démocratie-Force pour la défense de la démocratie for the historic global ceasefire agreement signed in Dar es Salaam, United Republic of Tanzania, on 16 November 2003, which aims to end 10 years of conflict in Burundi. We urge

the two parties to cooperate closely in its implementation. Meanwhile, we appeal to the Parti pour la libération du peuple hutu/Forces nationales pour la libération faction to stop fighting and join the negotiations for a ceasefire and a comprehensive peace accord.

The immediate task in both the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Burundi is the consolidation of the peace accords through a comprehensive programme for post-conflict reconciliation, reconstruction and development.

The proposed conference for the Great Lakes region is expected to agree on a set of principles on good-neighbourly relations, stability, democracy and the launch of programmes of action for socio-economic revival and development for the people of the region. We believe that one of the major causes of the political and social instability in the region has been, to a great extent, the state of underdevelopment and poverty in the region, which should be addressed decisively by that conference.

On issues of peace and security, the conference will be judged to have succeeded if it produces concrete measures designed to ensure a comprehensive safeguard against a future resurgence of violence, genocide and instability in the region, as well as to contain cross-border criminality, including the illicit trade in drugs and small arms and illegal immigration. A pact against the recurrence of genocide, a non-aggression treaty and a programme with clear time limits aimed at disbanding militias and prohibiting the supply of illegal small arms to the region, with an agreed mechanism for enforcement and verification, would ensure not only peace and security in the region, but also democracy, justice and good governance within the borders of each country. We believe that those are the conditions necessary for sustainable peace and development in the Great Lakes region.

In the specific area of economic development, it is perplexing that the Great Lakes region, which is endowed with abundant natural resources, is also among the least developed areas of Africa. Our expectation, therefore, is that after restoring peace and security, the international community should mobilize and provide substantial economic assistance to enable the countries of the Great Lakes region to harness their enormous economic resources, in partnership with bilateral and multilateral support from the international

community, for the recovery and development of their economies and the well-being of their people.

We trust that the conference will result in the establishment of a kind of Marshall Plan for the recovery and reconstruction of the Great Lakes region. We therefore appeal to our development partners to provide adequate resources, specifically targeted to enable the countries of the Great Lakes region to achieve their development goals and develop programmes for regional cooperation and integration. The New Partnership for Africa's Development offers an added opportunity for the countries of the Great Lakes region to realize their respective national and regional economic development goals.

On the humanitarian front, the Great Lakes region has, over the past decade, witnessed massive movements of refugees, displaced persons and victims of gross human rights violations. We expect the conference to provide an opportunity to refocus international attention on facilitating the implementation of durable solutions for refugees, internally displaced persons and ex-combatants, as well as on encouraging an environment conducive to tolerance and respect for human rights.

I should point out that, in preparing for the conference, it has been recognized that a key to the success of the preparatory process of the conference is the involvement of major stakeholders in the envisaged conference outcomes. National committees need to be supported in overseeing and coordinating intergovernmental consultations and the participation of non-governmental organizations and civil society groups, such as those involving youth or women.

The main constraint experienced by all our national committees is the lack of budgetary resources to organize meetings of major grass-roots stakeholders to enable them to provide necessary inputs for achieving and sustaining the peace, stability and development objectives of the countries of the Great Lakes region. We also appeal to the international community to provide financial and material support towards the preparation of the conference in its different stages.

This issue of resources was raised at the Nairobi National Coordinators Meeting, but, in the end, it was not clear where the resources for the preparatory process would come from. Each country was left to fend for itself. Consequently, the status of preparations

for the conference at the national level is not satisfactory. It is important, therefore, that measures be taken, on an urgent basis, by the United Nations, as well as bilateral initiatives, to provide support expeditiously to facilitate the preparatory process and enable it to proceed. According to the time frame approved by the national coordinators, the first national preparatory committee meeting was supposed to be held in Nairobi in October 2003.

The United Republic of Tanzania is particularly keen on the success of this conference. We have been given the responsibility of hosting the first summit, scheduled for June 2004. It is important for all of us who are involved to ensure that preparations for the conference are made in a timely and efficient manner at every stage.

Finally, I want to underscore the fact that, for the conference for the Great Lakes region to succeed, it is important for the countries of the region to assume ownership of the process, as outlined by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General. At the national level, the process has already started as an all-inclusive endeavour. We commend the ongoing work of Mr. Ibrahima Fall and his team, in partnership with the African Union. We shall continue to work with him and extend all the needed support from our respective national committees.

In conclusion, I should like once again to thank the Secretary-General and the Security Council for having convened this meeting and to thank the countries of the Great Lakes region for having appointed the United Republic of Tanzania to address the Council on their behalf.

The President: I shall now give the floor to the Special Envoy of the Chairperson of the African Union for the Great Lakes region, Mr. Keli Walubita.

Mr. Walubita: I have travelled all the way from Africa to come and attend this very important meeting. I arrived this morning at 7 o'clock, and I am already seated before the Council to demonstrate to it how important the item on the agenda this morning is to us in Africa.

I want to thank you, Mr. President, and the Republic of Angola for the initiative you have taken, as President of the Security Council for the month of November, to ask for this open debate on the proposed

international conference for the Great Lakes region. I must humbly thank you for that initiative.

You will recall that the last time Angola brought me here is when I was Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Zambia, during our temporary misunderstandings; we sat here together. I am very happy that an opportunity has been extended to me to be here today in my capacity as Special Envoy of the African Union. I must thank Mozambique's Minister Madeira for his statement on behalf of us all on the African continent.

I wish also to thank Minister Shareef, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Tanzania, for representing us in the Great Lakes region. I must, of course, thank the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kofi Annan, for his briefing this morning. Let me thank for having given this process a very able diplomat in the name of Ibrahima Fall, whom I have known for many, many years; to us, in this process, it is a rare gift. His commitment to the process has been tremendous.

I must admit that, without his efforts, we might not have moved a step further forward in responding to the challenge of the international community to prepare for an international conference for the Great Lakes region. I am therefore very grateful to the Secretary-General for having given us a person who has done so much within a short period of time. The Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Nairobi has expanded in order to respond to the challenges involved in preparing for this process.

In February 2002, I was appointed Special Envoy of the African Union to the Republic of Liberia, and I laboured in Liberia to try to bring understanding. By October 2002, when I was being transferred from Liberia, a process had already been undertaken that involved the possibility of a dialogue between the Government and the rebels. In October, I was appointed Special Envoy of the African Union to the Great Lakes region, to work with my own brother, Ibrahima Fall, in preparing for this international conference.

It has not been easy for us in the African Union to respond 100 per cent to the demands of this process, but I want to assure you, Mr. President, that in the African Union, with President Konaré as the new Chairman of the Commission, everything is being done

to respond to these challenges before the international community.

My own belief — that we have done so much already — has been echoed in the various statements we have heard this morning and at consultative meetings we have held. All six core countries, obviously, have agreed that we proceed, and they have agreed to appoint national coordinators and national preparatory committees. We have tremendous support from the six core countries with respect to moving ahead in arranging for the international conference on the Great Lakes region.

When we started, we had three terms of reference: to fight for peace and security for the Great Lakes region; to fight for democracy and good governance for the Great Lakes region; and, of course, to fight for economic development and regional integration for the Great Lakes region. But through various consultations a fourth cluster in the terms of reference has been added, namely on social and humanitarian affairs, so as to address the challenges the Deputy Minister of the United Republic of Tanzania alluded to, that is, issues relating to victims of violations of human rights, displaced persons and the larger issue, the refugee situation.

The third approach was to consult the neighbouring States of the Great Lakes region. My brother Ibrahima Fall and I travelled extensively to more than 20 African countries, consulting with each one of them. As you see in our reports, the response has been tremendous. All have agreed, to a great extent, that we go ahead with the preparatory process.

There are two issues here: first, the participation of Zambia, which geographically is part of the Great Lakes region, connected by Lake Tanganyika, and secondly, the proximity of the Democratic Republic of the Congo to the region, which is an issue that needs to be clarified as we go along. We held the first conference of national coordinators in Nairobi. The importance of that conference was that it provided us with a road map and a time frame for certain activities to take place. But here I want to mention one obvious difficulty. Although the six core countries agreed to appoint national coordinators and to set up national preparatory committees, by the time we met in Nairobi only one or two countries were able to submit to us the full details of the members of their national preparatory committees. Therefore, it might not be possible for us

to hold, before the end of the year, the regional preparatory meetings, because of the absence of input from most of the six core countries.

But hope is not lost. I want to assure you, Sir, that when President Konare recently met Ibrahima Fall in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, he assured Mr. Fall that this process will be given first priority. However, we have very serious financial constraints in the African Union, and the arrangement for the Special Envoy still remains ad hoc. I still have to commute from Lusaka to Nairobi and to Addis Ababa for these meetings, although there are plans to set up an office in Nairobi for the Special Envoy, so that we have daily interactions with Ibrahima Fall. But that has not yet been possible.

Yesterday I was asked to travel here to present the African Union position this morning, but I want to assure you that our partnership with the United Nations in this process will be continuous and is crucial. There is no way the African Union will move backwards. We shall continue to be very active partners in the process. I want to assure you that President Konare and President Chissano are very determined that we proceed as planned. A possible meeting is already in the pipeline, to be facilitated by the African Union, that will consist of African subregional groups, including the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Community of Sahelo-Saharan States (COMESSA). There is also a proposal for a meeting to take place in Addis Ababa before the end of November 2003. The main idea is that the regional subgroupings of Africa must also participate in the process.

One part of our mandate in this process is that we should not interfere with the ongoing peace processes in Burundi and in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We want to assure you — here we agree with Minister Madeira and Minister Shareef — that we are actively watching the situation, so that the two peace accords can mature irreversibly, even before the conference proceeds. We are very hopeful, because of the signs we have seen in Rwanda, in Congo and in Burundi, that we will be able to proceed, not only with the preparatory process, but also with the holding of the conference.

There are already, according to our time frame, a number of meetings set. Most importantly, by May next

year we hope to have the first meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Great Lakes region to prepare for the first round of the summit in June 2004 to be held in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. At this stage, I want to thank the United Republic of Tanzania for offering to hold the first summit of the conference. As a result of this positive gesture from Tanzania, Nairobi has already indicated to us, in the preparatory process, that they are willing to host the second summit of the conference.

The appeal from the African Union is for logistical support. We require financing. I want to assure you that our involvement will not take the process backwards, but forward. But above all, once again let me thank Angola and thank the Security Council for the support that they are already giving us. I believe my brother Ibrahima Fall will shed more light on a number of consultations that he undertook in that connection. From our side, however, we want to say that President Konare has firmly undertaken to give this process first priority and that is why I am here.

I want to assure you that we will participate fully, and I join the calls, already made by the Secretary-General and the ministers, that we require logistical support from the international community and the donor community, while we try to help ourselves on the African continent. This is merely a brief statement and, perhaps later on in the debate, we will be given an opportunity to answer some of the queries or shortcomings that the United Nations Security Council might have observed.

In conclusion, on behalf of my delegation from the African Union, I thank you, Sir, for this very valued opportunity to address the United Nations Security Council.

The President: I thank Mr. Keli Walubita for his comprehensive statement and his kind words addressed to me and members of the Council.

Mr. Spatafora (Italy): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Union. The acceding countries Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia, the associated countries Bulgaria, Romania and Turkey and the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) countries Iceland and Norway, members of the European Economic Area, align themselves with this statement.

Since this is the first time that I am taking the floor under your presidency, allow me to congratulate you on your effective leadership of the Council during the month of November. The initiative of this morning shows how well you are leading the Council.

I thank you for giving us an opportunity to debate this important issue.

The European Union is convinced that the fundamental problems affecting the Great Lakes region require a regional approach. For the first time since 1994, positive developments in the concerned countries have created concrete prospects for lasting political stability in the area and have allowed for realistic steps forward in the organization of an international conference on peace, security, democracy and development for the Great Lakes. As the Secretary-General said this morning, there is a new dynamic in the region. The European Union supports the initiative for such a conference under the auspices of the United Nations and the African Union and commends the efforts of the involved countries and of the Secretary-General to this end. As has been noted before, it is long overdue.

Allow me to share a few points with you as the European Union's contribution to today's debate.

We are fully aware of the importance of African ownership in this process, as Minister Madeira and others have emphasized. The success of the conference will depend primarily on the common political will of the countries involved in achieving shared objectives, and we welcome the emergence of a positive attitude towards the conference in the countries of the region.

The European Union sees the conference as the beginning of a process of normalization rather than a one-time event. We believe it is important to establish clear and realistic objectives that can be attained in the agreed time frame. The conference should not stop at establishing principles, but should ideally result in concrete operational agreements or projects. Coordination, coherence and consistency with other existing processes, such as the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), is also important, as is the need to avoid duplication with other forums.

The full and effective participation of all countries in the region, including all the countries neighbouring the Democratic Republic of the Congo and South Africa, is also crucial, as well as the

involvement of subregional organizations, international financial institutions, observer countries and the European Union. In addition, the establishment of a group of friends will provide a valuable forum for discussion and coordination of international support for the conference.

Among the issues to be addressed, peace and security are clearly central. We welcome the declaration of Principles on Good-Neighbourly Relations and Cooperation, signed in New York on 25 September of this year by some of the countries of the region, which already identify the main principles to be applied, namely: respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each State; non-interference in neighbours' internal affairs; and control of arms trafficking and supplies directed to other countries. Breaking the cycle of conflict, arms trade and illegal exploitation is one of the main issues that the conference should address.

We also expect the conference to play an important role in promoting trade, investment and economic cooperation and integration within the region. The challenge ahead is that of ensuring that the immense natural resources of the region are exploited for the social and economic development of the entire population. The active participation of the private sector and regional organizations in this regard is also welcomed.

Finally, the conference provides an opportunity for the countries of the region to address crucial issues, such as good governance, democracy, human rights and the rule of law, the advancement of which may help to restore confidence between Governments and their respective populations. The African Union and NEPAD already provide a valid and agreed framework for tackling those issues. A thorough discussion on transitional justice and the need to end impunity may also contribute to the regional reconciliation process. In addition, the strong involvement of civil society will be welcomed.

Consolidating the peace processes in the region will be a fundamental element in the success of the conference. The European Union, along the lines indicated by the United Nations and the African Union, has played an important role in this, as demonstrated recently by the European Union-led operation "Artemis", which provided immediate relief for the

civilian population and was an example of successful crisis management.

Today the European Union is strongly committed to supporting the new Congolese institutions through a major post-conflict programme of assistance. Our focus is on demobilization, disarmament and reintegration of ex-combatants, the creation of an integrated police unit and the preparation for elections by the year 2005. The preparation for elections could prove a very difficult task in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We support the efforts of United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo in this regard and hope that it will be possible to draw on its logistics, since the success of the electoral process will depend largely on the availability of adequate transport and communication facilities.

As for Burundi, we congratulate South Africa, the Governments of the Regional Initiative and the African Union for brokering an agreement between the transitional Government and the group, *Forces pour la défense de la démocratie*. We urge the group *Forces nationales de libération* to join the political process and we encourage the Government of Burundi to keep the door open to the negotiations.

The European Union and its member States will continue to support the African Mission in Burundi, deployed by the African Union. However, the long-term sustainability of this African-led force is seriously open to question. We believe that the option for a transfer of authority to the United Nations will need to be considered in due course to ensure peacekeeping in Burundi.

The elections in Rwanda also represent a key factor in the prevailing situation in the Great Lakes, as they are an important step towards national reconciliation and the consolidation of viable democratic institutions.

The Great Lakes area has become a major focus of European Union foreign policy, as it is a test case of the ability of Africa, with our support, to become master of its own destiny. The proposed conference could provide the right framework for ensuring that our support is based on a regional approach. We welcome the steps already taken in that direction and we pledge our continued support to the consolidation of peace and development in the region.

In concluding, I would like to add a few words in my national capacity. I see that on many of these issues — background issues, the hard issues of peace and security and the soft issues of development and good governance — were to be addressed by the President of the Republic of Italy, President Ciampi, the day before yesterday. Unfortunately, in the event, he was not able to attend. But I think it would be appropriate, without taking up more time, for me to supply the text of the President's statement for the Security Council records.

The President: I thank the representative of Italy for his statement and for his kind words addressed to me. We look forward to seeing that statement later.

Now I give the floor to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the Great Lakes region, Mr. Ibrahim Fall.

Mr. Fall (spoke in French): The report of the Secretary-General before the Council is based on three key ideas: the structure of the process of the organization of the conference, its dynamics and the specific role to be played by the United Nations.

With regard to the structure of the organizational process, the report stresses the objectives assigned to the conference, on the one hand, and, on the other, the organizational frameworks of the conference. As described in paragraphs 6 and 8 of the report, the heads of State of the region are hoping to adopt and implement, at the conclusion of the consultations initiated by the first meeting of national coordinators in June 2003, a stability, security and development pact for the Great Lakes region based on four priority sectors — namely, peace and security, good governance and democracy, economic development and regional integration and humanitarian and social questions. Each of these four sectors will target priorities and outline in a practical and concrete manner policies, strategies, programmes, projects and specific activities which will have precise targets for the short, medium and long term, reflecting intersectoral relations.

Even though it is already now possible to have some idea of the priority concerns, following the talks with the Governments of the region, clearly, we must await the deliberations of the first regional preparatory meetings to establish the priorities that all of the States of the region will decide on in exercise of their sovereign will. The agreement of good-neighbourliness between the Democratic Republic of the Congo and its

neighbours, signed here in New York recently, and the statement made by the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of the United Republic of Tanzania, speaking on behalf of all of the countries of the region — that already constitutes a valuable contribution.

As to the organizational framework of the conference, this consists of two levels, as described in the report. At the regional level, each country has a national coordinator appointed by the Government, as well as a national preparatory committee placed under the operational authority of the coordinator.

During the first meeting of the national coordinators, it was decided that each preparatory national committee would consist of a governmental component at the inter-ministerial level and a non-governmental component made up of representatives of civil society. It was also decided that special measures should be taken by each country to guarantee quantitative and qualitative representation of women and young people in each national preparatory committee.

Finally, it was decided that each national committee would have a small support secretariat, the financing of which would require urgent international assistance. The functioning of the national preparatory committees — and therefore the implementation of the work done by the secretariats — is essential for the success of the preparatory process of the conference.

At the regional level, all of the national preparatory committees and their representatives make up the regional preparatory committee, and its work will be attuned to the initial preparatory phase of the conference.

Turning now to the organizational sequencing of the conference, a second major subject described in the report of the Secretary-General, this sequencing has been largely established and is based on a draft timetable containing two main principles: regional ownership and international partnership.

Regarding regional ownership, I think it would be useful for me to make the following comments: Firstly, the conference is intended to be a process, not an event. It will take place in two stages. The first stage, the expert stage, consists in meetings of the regional preparatory committees from June 2003 to May 2004. The major expected outcome is a report containing proposals on the guidelines for the future security,

stability and development pact, as well as practical ideas and proposals for action on each of the four themes of the conference.

This preparatory expert phase will be followed by the political preparatory phase, during which the ministerial committees, upon instructions from the first summit of heads of State to be held in June 2004 in Tunisia, will translate the experts' ideas and proposals into targets in the areas of policy, strategies, programmes and projects. The work of these ministerial committees will go on for some months, and the duration will be decided on by the first summit.

Finally, this preparatory phase will culminate in the second summit of heads of State, planned to be held in Kenya, although the date has not yet been decided on, and it, *inter alia*, will adopt the security, stability and regional development pact, comprising the declaration of principle and programmes of action.

Regional ownership also means the active and decisive involvement by as broad a spectrum as possible of the main stakeholders in each country, including representatives of the various ministries concerned, representatives of civil society, as well as representatives of parliamentarians, union organizations and the business sector.

The United Nations has already been approached by several of these institutions and regional and international groups, some of which, such as the Nyerere Foundation, the ITEKA League of Burundi, and the International Peace Academy, have already organized or plan to organize by the end of the year, meetings to enhance the preparatory process of the conference.

In order to strengthen regional ownership, regional meetings of women and young people will be organized in order to better highlight, in each of the four themes of the conference, specific concerns of these two important social categories. The same applies to the meeting of the secretaries-general of the subregional organizations, which will cover all or part of the Great Lakes region, and the special envoy of the African Union — Mr. Keli Walubita, referred to this meeting just now — and it will be organized jointly by the African Union and the United Nations, and the date has just been decided on — from 8 to 9 December 2003.

Finally, in order to enhance the principle of regional ownership, apart from the core countries of the region, their neighbours will be invited to participate as observers throughout the entire conference. Naturally, the decisions relating to the conference, including projects, will depend on the will of the States of the region. The United Nations, the African Union, the neighbouring countries and international development partners should give full support to the principle of regional ownership, which was decided on by the heads of State of the region as one of the basic conditions for their agreement to hold the conference.

The second pillar of the process for the conference is the principle of international partnership, and this is covered in paragraphs 24-27 of the report. This principle encompasses several levels. First of all, it is reflected in the recognition of the importance of the participation, from the beginning to the end of the organizational process of the conference, of bilateral and multilateral development partners of the Great Lakes region. It is further expressed in the status of active observer granted to development partners. While the practical and operational conditions of this observer status remain to be clarified, it emerged very clearly during the meeting of National Coordinators that development partners will have the right not only to attend meetings, but also to take the floor and to contribute to the debates.

Finally, the principle of international partnership is the basis of the imminent establishment, on 4 December 2003 in Geneva, of the Group of Friends of the Great Lakes region, thanks to the facilitation provided by Canada following consultations with the United Nations and the African Union. The Group will provide a framework for information exchange, consultation, cooperation and the harmonization of the individual and collective actions and initiatives of the international community of development partners for the preparation and holding of and follow-up to the international conference on the Great Lakes region. The principle of international partnership will play a particularly important role at the second summit of heads of State, at which the stability, security and development pact is to be adopted, and throughout the follow-up phase to the conference, in which the pact will be implemented and periodically assessed.

The role of the United Nations is the third important element highlighted by the report for the

preparation and convening of the conference. It can be analysed at three levels. The first is the Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General. Basically, this is a question of the United Nations providing technical support for the national preparatory committees; the secretariat responsible for preparing and convening the follow-up meetings of the regional preparatory committee; political guidance for the discussions in the thematic meetings; institutional coordination of the contributions of the various departments, programmes and agencies of the United Nations system; and assistance in mobilizing the international community for the conference.

In that respect, the Office of the Special Representative works in close cooperation with the various United Nations missions and offices in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Burundi and with all of the coordinators of the United Nations system in every country of the region.

Finally, a steering group has been established incorporating all of the United Nations agencies represented in Nairobi. It will serve as a framework for coordinating the system's contributions to all aspects of the preparation and holding of the conference. It is in this setting that the work in each of the conference's four thematic areas will be coordinated by one United Nations entity, represented in Nairobi.

The second level will be based in New York, where an inter-departmental and inter-agency working group has been established within the Secretariat and meets periodically to coordinate contributions to the conference. As the report notes and as the Secretary-General reiterated in his opening statement, it is important that the Office of the Special Representative

"be provided with adequate resources so that it can meet the increasing demands that the launching of the preparatory process prompted". (S/2003/1099, para. 29)

The third level is the Security Council. The role of the Security Council, as the organ primarily responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security, is of crucial importance in the preparation and convening of the conference; in providing political guidance in the conference process; in giving essential diplomatic support; and in mobilizing the international community for the conference. Indeed, from the perspective of any of the four thematic areas, the conference ultimately hinges on the question of

security in the most noble meaning of that word — human security.

Mr. De La Sablière (France) (spoke in French): I wish at the outset to reiterate your condemnation, Sir, of the odious terrorist attack on the British consulate and other targets in Istanbul. We offer our British colleague our most heartfelt condolences.

I thank Mr. Fall and those who spoke earlier for the information they have provided us on the preparation for the international conference for peace in the Great Lakes region. I believe that the members of the Security Council have duly noted the commitment of the African Union to the preparatory work for the conference.

I support the statement made by our Italian colleague on behalf of the European Union and wish simply to make a few additional comments.

The importance of this exercise has been amply demonstrated. The conflicts that continue to affect the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Burundi, as well as the earlier conflict in Rwanda, cannot be understood in isolation. Borders have not stopped the movements of armed rebellions, military interventions by States, or the traffic in weapons and raw materials. The full normalization of relations among the Governments of the region and the implementation of confidence-building measures to ensure border security are therefore the basic objectives of the conference.

France feels that three conditions need to be met in order to ensure the conference's success. We believe, first, that participation in the first round should be open to all neighbouring States, including the Western neighbours of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Burundi. We feel that ownership of the conference by Africans — which is being prepared, as we have heard this morning — can be made possible only if Governments that legitimately wish to take part in the conference are not excluded.

Secondly, we believe that the principal themes should be prioritized to answer to the main concerns of the States involved. Security questions, clearly, must remain the top priority. Other issues — such as regional economic cooperation — are still important, but, as Mr. Fall noted, we must ensure that the conference is not sidetracked by considerations that fall within the competence of other bodies.

Thirdly, we believe that the conference should seek to achieve tangible results. The eventual development of a follow-up mechanism should not relegate to a lower priority the holding of a substantive discussion about the most essential problems affecting the peace and stability of the region. The States concerned are in agreement about the principles that should guide their relations. They confirmed that on 25 September 2003, during their presence here at the invitation of the Secretary-General. We believe that the conference should be an opportunity for them to translate commitments into action. If the participants in the meeting to be held next June in Tanzania decide that two summits will be held, that idea should not diminish the chances for a definitive conclusion of the work of the conference.

The important thing today is to seize the opportunity provided by the progress made in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and in Burundi and to take advantage of the hopes for national reconciliation that that progress has provided. Let us not run the risk losing the momentum that the conference itself will be producing.

My comments lead into two questions that I would like to pose to Mr. Fall. The first concerns the request made by neighbours of the Democratic Republic of the Congo that have not yet been included in the preparations for the conference. How will they be guaranteed that the conference will indeed take place in an inclusive manner, namely, including them? My second question pertains to security issues, which go right to the heart of our concerns. What specific steps are being envisaged for implementation after next June's summit?

Mr. Wang Guangya (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): First of all, I would like to express my condolences at the great number of innocent people who have become casualties as a result of the explosions in Istanbul and to condemn the violent actions of terrorists. I also extend our condolences to the representative of the United Kingdom on its victims.

I wish to thank Secretary-General Annan for the statement he has just made. We also welcome the representative of the presidency of the African Union — the Foreign Minister of Mozambique — as well as the Deputy Foreign Minister of Tanzania, who have travelled a long distance. Their participation in today's meeting illustrates the support of African

countries for the holding of the international conference on the Great Lakes region, as well as the importance they attach to it.

The situation in the Great Lakes region of Africa has been turbulent in recent years. That situation has had a serious deleterious effect on peace, stability and economic development in the region and in the African continent as a whole. There are complicated historical reasons for the problems in the Great Lakes region, but those problems are also influenced by many contemporary elements. Resolving them requires coordinated efforts on the part of the countries of the region, as well as tremendous assistance from the international community.

China believes that the parties concerned should proceed in the interest of peace and development on the African continent, especially in the Great Lakes region, as well as on the basis of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the countries concerned and pursuant to the relevant United Nations resolutions and the agreements reached by the parties through dialogue and consultation to seek common ground, put aside their differences and increase their initial confidence in order to gradually resolve tensions and differences.

Thanks to the common efforts of African countries and the forceful encouragement of the international community, progress has recently been made in the peace processes in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and in Burundi. On the initiative of Secretary-General Annan, on 26 September 2003 the leaders of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Burundi, Uganda and Rwanda issued in New York a declaration of principles for good-neighbourly relations and cooperation. That declaration expressed the good will of the parties and their commitment to peace and cooperation, thereby injecting new vitality into normalizing the situation in the countries concerned and accelerating the peace processes in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Burundi. We hope that the parties concerned will continue to make efforts to maintain positive momentum and resolve outstanding problems.

China, as a permanent member of the Security Council and a friend of the countries of the Great Lakes region, has always paid close attention to developments in the situation in the region and has actively participated in, and promoted, a resolution of the hot-spot problems there. We have contributed

peacekeeping troops to the United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and have provided logistical assistance to the peacekeeping forces of the African Union in Burundi.

China supports the initiative to convene an international conference on the Great Lakes region. We are encouraged by the progress made thus far in the preparatory work for the conference. We call on the international community to provide political and financial support for the success of that meeting. In that regard, we support the issuance of a presidential statement by the President of the Security Council at the end of today's meeting. We sincerely hope that, through common effort, the conference will be a good opportunity for the countries of the region to enhance dialogue, resolve differences, rebuild peace and discuss development. As always, China will play an active role in promoting the early realization of lasting peace in that region.

Sir Emyr Jones Parry (United Kingdom): I am very grateful to the President for his remarks earlier in the meeting. I am also grateful to colleagues for their expressions of sympathy over another ghastly atrocity. I understand that there is a suggestion that a draft resolution may be introduced on that subject. If that is the case, perhaps I could invite the presidency to consider whether some work by our coordinators or some other representatives might facilitate the drafting of such a resolution so that, if we are going to have one, we vote on it quite quickly.

Like others who have spoken before me, we are very grateful to the Secretary-General for his report (S/2003/1099), as well as to those who have made their opening statements. I of course associate myself fully with the remarks of the European Union presidency.

The Great Lakes region has been ravaged by conflict, atrocity and suffering. The people of the region have been waiting too long for peace, stability and the prospect for a better future. The good news is that there has been significant progress in 2003 with regard to the present conflicts — progress in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Burundi and Rwanda. I would like to join others in paying tribute to the role being played by the countries of the region, by the African Union and by special representatives.

There appears now to be a genuine beginning. Our responsibility around this table, and that of the people who are listening, is to ensure that this time,

unlike in the past, the international community plays its part and supports developments that should have, and are increasingly having, the full involvement and ownership of the countries of the region. As in so many other areas — hearteningly — at the moment in Africa, we need to reinforce and support African-led initiatives. My Prime Minister has underlined his commitment that the United Kingdom — and, we hope, the international community — should better address the problems of Africa and support the real efforts being made by Africans to find solutions to those difficulties.

Real progress is being made to overcome conflicts, and those efforts will continue. The proposed conference is not a substitute for the existing peace processes in the Congo or Burundi. But a Great Lakes conference which we all support should focus on the aftermath of conflicts, on building the foundations of lasting peace through the reconstruction of war-damaged societies. That is why we agree with the key themes identified by Special Representative Fall in his consultations in the region: peace and security, economic cooperation, good governance, democracy and human rights.

It is primarily for the States of the region to develop those ideas further. We think that civil society can also play a part in the preparatory process. We agree also with the Special Representative's recommendation that the conference itself should be part of a process, establishing a framework for lasting cooperation, and not be just a one-time summit. Ideally, the outcome would be a set of principles and actions which the parties would commit themselves to and then implement. We hope that the conference will come up with specific plans — and I very much agree with the approach put forward by the French Ambassador — plans on how to take forward the shared goals of the countries of the region in areas such as trade and economic development, demobilization of armed groups and the safe return of refugees. Because it is through cooperation in practical areas of common interest that the tradition of working together will be developed and the scope and prospect of inter-State conflict much reduced. Developing regional trade and investment through the creation of free-trade zones, or even an internal market in goods and labour, can make a real contribution to economic development.

Thus, a conference should begin a process, a process between and within the countries of the region

and which covers all aspects relevant to post-conflict reconstruction, justice, rule of law, economic development, regional cooperation and disarmament, demobilization and reintegration — those practical issues basic to taking States forward to the sort of sustainable and continued development in enduring peace that they are now entitled to expect.

In preparing for the conference, and deriving from it, the United Kingdom hopes that the framework of a coordinated and real contribution by the international community will emerge. I think we should be quite clear that if the conference is to bring real value, if there is to be a difference on the ground, then the international community will have to support and harness resources in support of the Great Lakes, to further peace and sustainable development and to underpin solutions which are now being achieved increasingly within Africa and by African institutions. The people of the Great Lakes and our friends in Africa demand and expect no less of us.

Mr. Konuzin (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): My delegation would also like to associate itself with the expressions of condolence to the United Kingdom and Turkey, following the terrorist acts that took place in Istanbul and with the condemnations of those acts.

We welcome the presence in the Chamber of eminent personalities and representatives of Africa.

Africa is confronting a new generation of challenges and threats, which are having a destabilizing effect on peace in countries of the region. Internal and international crises are engendered by the aggressive spread of illegal armed groups, weak State administration, poorly developed democracy, the failure to implement laws governing relations between peoples, impunity for massive violations of human rights and the norms of international humanitarian law, and the inability of leaders to provide for the sustainable socio-economic development of their States. There is no quick solution to those problems. Multilevel coordinated efforts are required both of the friends of Africa and, primarily, of Africans themselves.

We come to today's meeting on the situation in the Great Lakes region having made certain achievements. In the Democratic Republic of the Congo, under the leadership of the transitional Government of national unity, life is returning to

normal, despite the continuing instability particularly in the eastern part of the country. The peace process in Burundi is gaining ground despite the obstructionist position of one of the armed groups. Progress can be observed in relations between the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Rwanda and Burundi. That is being promoted by the efforts of the States in the region. The United Nations and its Security Council have played a major role here. From 2000 to 2003, the Great Lakes region was visited by four Security Council missions. We are pleased that their work and recommendations proved essential. In particular, in September under the aegis of the Secretary-General, leaders of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Burundi, Rwanda and Uganda adopted a declaration on principles of good-neighbourly relations and cooperation. Implementation of the provisions of that declaration has already started.

We are not blind to the risks and difficulties that still exist: the danger of a renewed outbreak of inter-ethnic confrontation, difficulties in the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration process, illegal flows of small arms and light weapons, the problem of mercenaries, the use of child soldiers, uncontrolled borders, violence against civilians, the dire humanitarian situation and so on.

However, at the present time, the Great Lakes region is reaching a critical mass of positive factors, making it possible to move to a new type of relations among States of the region. The next effective step towards the complete normalization of the situation in the Great Lakes region, should be the holding of the international conference on this region under the aegis of the United Nations and the African Union. We agree that this event should be held within a time frame agreed to by the interested African States, and we agree with the forum's objectives and format. We are sure that the process of the work of the conference will help to resolve many interlocking regional problems and open the way to peace, security, democracy, socio-economic development and cooperation among States within the Great Lakes region.

However, I want to stress once again that the productivity of this conference primarily depends on how consistently the core players in the crisis of the Great Lakes region implement the various agreements and accords related to the ceasefire in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Burundi and implement the

goals of the inter-Congolese dialogue and border security.

Russia supports the advancement of the peace process in the Great Lakes region. We support the idea of the establishment of a group of friends of the conference on the Great Lakes region, and we are prepared to participate in its work. At the same time, we would like to propose that the conference's organizers give thought to the possibility of including in its work another participant: international business. For many decades, multinational companies exploited the natural and human resources of that very rich part of the world. Developing its still enormous potential for the benefit of the countries of the region would require new capital investment and entrepreneurship. Participation by their representatives in the conference could help it attain its goals.

The many years of bloody conflict in the Great Lakes region are an open wound on the body of the African continent. How quickly and effectively these conflicts can be resolved will determine to a large extent stability for the whole of Africa, which has endured such terrible trials. It is time to act quickly and effectively.

I would like to ask two questions.

I ask the first question of the representative of the presidency of the African Union. One of the most acute problems confronted in conflict situations in Africa, including in the Great Lakes region, is impunity for war crimes and crimes against humanity. Impunity engenders new conflicts within countries, between neighbouring States and in whole regions as well. Our appeals to individual African States have so far not produced any results that we could rely on. They prefer to appeal to international forums. A great role in resolving these problems could be played by the regional and subregional organizations, including the African Union. My question is: what can the African Union do to combat impunity?

For my second question I turn to the representative of Tanzania. In June of this year, the Security Council mission visited the Great Lakes region, including Tanzania. The impression was created that regional countries can exert pressure on the Forces nationales de libération (FNL) to force that armed group to join the peace process in Burundi. My question is: what can the regional countries do to force the FNL to sit at the negotiating table?

Mr. Mekdad (Syria) (*spoke in Arabic*): We share your strong condemnation of the acts of terror in Turkey that have killed a number of innocent Turkish civilians, in addition to the British Consul-General in Istanbul. Allow me to express our grief and condolences to Turkey, our neighbour, and its people, as well as to the Government and people of the United Kingdom.

I thank you, Mr. President, for convening this meeting on the Great Lakes region. We also thank the Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, for his comprehensive and substantial statement this morning. We are pleased to welcome Mr. Francisco Madeira, Minister of the Presidency for Parliamentary and Diplomatic Affairs of Mozambique, whose country is the current President of the African Union. We are also delighted to welcome Mr. Abdulkader Shareef, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of the United Republic of Tanzania, which has been so generous in offering to host the preparatory meeting of the conference in 2004. We also welcome Italy as the current president of the European Union. We also believe that the presence of the Special Envoy of the Chairperson of the African Union Commission for the Great Lakes Region, Mr. Keli Walubita, confirms the concern that the African Union has for the success of this important conference. We welcome Mr. Ibrahima Fall, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the Great Lakes Region, and we thank him for the efforts he has made towards an excellent preparation of the conference.

Syria supports all international, regional and subregional efforts being made towards peace and security in the Great Lakes region and in the African continent in general. We also highly appreciate the efforts being made by the neighbouring countries of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Burundi towards that objective. These efforts will be crowned with the convening of an international conference on the Great Lakes region.

My delegation has taken note of the report of the Secretary-General (S/2003/1099) and has understood the special details regarding the convening of the conference. We are cognizant of the difficulties that must be surmounted in order for the conference to succeed, at the national and the regional levels.

Syria encourages, all States concerned, particularly those in the Great Lakes region, to

participate actively in all stages of the preparation of the conference towards its success and the achievement of its desired goals. We also add our voice in appealing to donor countries to provide all possible material and logistical help required for the convening of the conference. We cannot fail to thank the African Union and South Africa for their efforts and effective participation, in addition to many other States that have taken a constructive role: Angola, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Gabon, the Congo, Namibia and others. Syria stresses the importance of the international community providing every possible support to the process as a whole and to peace efforts in the region. Those efforts have begun to crystallize, as stated by the Secretary-General, whether in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Burundi or Rwanda.

We support the recommendation of the Secretary-General to the core countries participating in the conference to concentrate on the conference's priorities and to set up specific policies, programmes, projects and activities in the various sub-themes to be discussed at the conference. This would lead the conference to achieve peace, security, economic development and regional integration. We believe that this would in turn lead to an improvement of the humanitarian and social situation of the peoples of the region and would allow the peoples of the region to finally reap the fruits of peace.

We believe that the presidential declaration before us reflects our position and the desire of the Council to see success for this international conference on peace and security in the Great Lakes region. It also reflects the need for successful preparation for the conference. We are confident that the Security Council will adopt this draft presidential statement at the end of this debate, as a contribution by the Council to collective international efforts towards peace, security and development in the Great Lakes region of Africa.

Mr. Pujalte (Mexico) (*spoke in Spanish*): On behalf of the Government of Mexico, I express our condemnation of the cowardly terrorist act which has taken the lives of so many and has injured even more in Turkey. We express the solidarity of the people and Government of Mexico to the families of the victims and to the Governments of Turkey and the United Kingdom on these events. I should like also to welcome our guests, Mr. Francisco Madeira, Mr. Abdulkader Shareef, Mr. Keli Walubita, and Mr.

Ibrahima Fall and to express thanks for their statements and the statement of the Ambassador of Italy, Mr. Spatafora, as well as for his participation at this meeting.

I also wish to recognize the fact that you included on the Security Council's agenda for this month the subject of an international conference on the Great Lakes region. It could not have been otherwise, since Angola has the sensitivity and insight to determine that an initiative of that nature deserves the Council's unreserved support. Mexico recognizes the relevance of an international conference given the regional dimensions of the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the economic, social and cultural links uniting the peoples of the region, and therefore the need to provide a regional solution to that conflict.

We congratulate the Secretary-General on his recent decision to appoint Mr. Fall to his current post so that he can continue to pursue issues related to such an international conference. We are sure that the joint efforts of Mr. Fall and the Special Envoy of the Chairperson of the Commission of the African Union will be fruitful, since they are channelled towards achieving a single objective.

Given the nature and dimensions of the conflict in the region, there is a need, in our opinion, to also involve the General Assembly and other organs and programmes of the United Nations system, including the Bretton Woods institutions. Coordinated action is urgent in order to define a regional strategy that includes measures in areas such as peace and security, democracy, regional integration and humanitarian and social issues.

Above all, from our perspective, special attention needs to be devoted to resolving the problems at the roots of the conflict. The first of those — noted from Mr. Shareef's statement — is the fact that one of the major causes of the political and social instability in the region is, to a great extent, underdevelopment and poverty, which needs to be contemplated and considered at the conference. From our point of view, the conference needs to arrive at some solution or initiative to resolve the problem of underdevelopment. The second problem, from our perspective, is to recommend some kind of system to halt the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons and explosive ordnance, which are also at the root of the region's problem.

My country welcomes the resolve of the region's countries to work on the preparatory process of the conference. We trust that the goal can be attained within the time-frame established by the national coordinators at the Nairobi meeting in June. With that conviction, my Government offers its full support for the conference's objectives and programme of work. The goal is ambitious, but it has indisputable merits nevertheless. The challenges are many, but they can be overcome with the necessary political will to do so and with the Security Council's commitment to shouldering its responsibility in promoting a lasting peace in the Great Lakes region.

Mr. Raytchev (Bulgaria): First of all, on behalf of the Republic of Bulgaria, I should like to express our strong condemnation of the vicious terrorist attacks that have occurred in Istanbul and to join others in expressing our deep sympathy with the families of all who have been affected by those terrorist acts.

We are grateful to you, Mr. President, for having organized this timely public meeting on the Great Lakes region. I should also like to welcome the presence at this meeting of the Minister of the Presidency for Parliamentary and Diplomatic Affairs of Mozambique, the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of Tanzania, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and the Special Envoy of the Chairperson of the Commission of the African Union, and to express to them our appreciation for their important contributions. My delegation is also grateful to the Secretary-General for his important presentation at this Security Council meeting.

Bulgaria, as an associated country of the European Union, fully supports the statement made earlier by the representative of Italy on behalf of the European Union. In my national capacity, I should like to make the following comments.

Bulgaria welcomes the positive dynamics emerging in the Great Lakes region of Africa. The peace process in the Democratic Republic of the Congo has made substantial headway in recent months. We are also witnessing encouraging developments with regard to the peace process in Burundi. We concur with the Secretary-General that it is important to capitalize on this new momentum. We think that this positive trend must be sustained and supported, including through a concerted multilateral regional approach and related actions.

We agree that the holding of an international conference on peace, security, democracy and development in the Great Lakes region could make an essential contribution to the promotion and strengthening of the reconciliation processes in all States of that part of Africa. In our view, such a conference could also contribute to normalization of relations in all spheres among the countries in the region and to the establishment of confidence-building measures and mechanisms aimed at achieving lasting peace and stability.

Therefore, Bulgaria, like other countries, welcomes and unreservedly supports the initiative of organizing such a conference under the auspices of the United Nations and the African Union. We are pleased that the preparations for the conference are under way. Needless to say, such an international conference will have to be carefully planned if it is to be successful. In that regard, we note with interest the information provided by the Secretary-General in his report (S/2003/1099) and the briefings by the Ministers and Mr. Fall with regard to the initial preparatory work carried out thus far.

We are cognizant of the importance of African ownership of the whole process. The common political will of the States in the region to work in a concerted way to achieve shared goals is a key element, in our view, for the success of the proposed conference. In that respect, we appreciate the emerging readiness and willingness of the region's States to assist in the preparation and holding of a productive conference. My country would like to commend, in particular, Tanzania for having offered to host a summit in the course of 2004. We also welcome the appointment of Mr. Walubita by the Commission of the African Union as a Special Envoy for the Great Lakes region.

It is our view that the Declaration of Principles on Good-Neighbourly Relations and Cooperation, signed in New York on 25 September 2003 by the Governments of Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Rwanda and Uganda, as well as the agreement between the transitional Government of Burundi and the Forces for the Defence of Democracy group, signed on 16 November in Dar-es-Salaam, have provided grounds for hope and optimism for normalization of the situation within the framework of the comprehensive peace process in the region. We believe that the international community should assist the efforts of the region's States, the United Nations

and the African Union with a view to facilitating the successful holding of the conference. In that regard, I should like to express our appreciation for Canada's efforts to establish a Group of Friends of the Great Lakes region, whose objective is to provide support to the conference.

In conclusion, I should like to say that we appreciate the draft text of the presidential statement submitted for the consideration of members of the Council and that we are prepared to fully support it.

Ms. Menéndez (Spain) (*spoke in Spanish*): My delegation, too, would like express its vigorous condemnation of the recent attacks in Istanbul. We extend our sympathy to the families of the victims and to the Governments of Turkey and of the United Kingdom.

We are grateful to the Angolan presidency for having convened this open meeting on the Great Lakes region. We would like to express appreciation for the briefings provided today on this issue by our guests.

As we have said on previous occasions, we fully endorse the regional approach in addressing issues pertaining to the Great Lakes region — hence the importance of appropriate preparation for the international conference.

Given the complexity of the issues under discussion, we are of the view that the conference must be seen as a process, rather than a single event. We have heard a number of speakers, including Mr. Ibrahima Fall, express the same view.

The conference will have before it a broad range of questions relating to peace and security, good-neighbourliness, stability, democracy, good governance, economic development and regional integration, as well as humanitarian and social issues. It will be important, therefore, to define principles and goals, as well as concrete programmes and initiatives, relating to those areas, with a view to developing a plan of action that can bring about their implementation in practice.

With regard to good-neighbourly relations in particular, we welcome the signature, on 25 September, of the declaration on principles of good-neighbourliness and cooperation between the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Burundi, Rwanda and Uganda, and we appeal to the signatories to apply the principles set out therein. Such initiatives

contribute to the creation of a climate of trust among the countries of the region, which is clearly conducive to peace and can reduce the potential for tension.

Among other hopeful developments, we should also mention the return to Rwanda, on 14 November, of General Paul Rwarakabije of the Forces démocratiques pour la libération du Rwanda.

We believe that, in order for the international conference to be a complete success, it should involve all the actors affecting the stability of the area. Furthermore, the follow-up mechanisms for the conference must be adapted to the complex realities of the region. To that end, we must have the support and cooperation of all relevant countries and institutions.

For our part, we will work actively within the European Union — the Italian presidency of the Union spoke earlier on behalf of all its members — on all initiatives in support of the conference. We will continue to demonstrate our commitment and provide support for peace, security and development in the Great Lakes region.

Mr. Muñoz (Chile) (*spoke in Spanish*): I should like at the outset to express condolences to the Government of Great Britain for the terrorist attack attributed to Al Qaeda that occurred in Istanbul and took the life of the Consul-General of the country, as well as the lives of many others. We also express our condolences to the Government of Turkey for the victims resulting from that criminal attack and the attack that took place last weekend. We intend to submit a draft resolution on this matter during this afternoon's meeting. We hope that it will be adopted unanimously.

We are grateful for the presence here today of the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of Tanzania; the Minister of the Presidency for Parliamentary and Diplomatic Affairs of Mozambique; the Special Envoy of the Chairperson of the Commission of the African Union for the Great Lakes Region; and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General.

The regional dimension of conflicts has become clear with regard to other parts of Africa, as has the fact that there is great usefulness in cooperation between the Security Council and regional and subregional organizations in Africa. We need only mention the essential presence of the Economic Community of West African States — working in

direct cooperation with the Security Council — in Liberia and Côte d'Ivoire. My comments also apply fully to the appeal by the Council for the holding of an international conference on the Great Lakes region, based on the conviction that instability in the Democratic Republic of the Congo could quickly spread to other countries of the region, that the peoples of the region have linguistic, cultural and social ties that bind them closely together and that, in the final analysis, conflict can be resolved only in a regional framework.

Chile supports the holding of the conference. We see it as a further sign that the African peoples have taken their destiny in their own hands, generating African solutions to African problems. We commend the active participation of important organizations, including the African Union, in support of this effort. We also welcome the fact that the first meeting of national coordinators was held in June, and we hope that the rather tight provisional timetable proposed by the Secretary-General in his report can be kept to.

In short, we believe that it is essential that the international community provide decisive support for the conference, so that the goals set out by the Secretary-General and the Security Council can be achieved. In this context, we enthusiastically support the presidential statement to be made later on this matter.

Mr. Khalid (Pakistan): At the outset, I, too, would like to join others in condemning the terrorist attack that took place today in Istanbul and in conveying our deep condolences to the Governments of Turkey and of the United Kingdom. We wish to welcome Mr. Madeira, Minister of the Presidency for Parliamentary and Diplomatic Affairs of Mozambique, who is here on behalf of the African Union; Deputy Foreign Minister Shareef of Tanzania; Mr. Walubita, representative of the Commission of the African Union for the Great Lakes Region; and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Ibrahima Fall. We wish to thank them and the Secretary-General for their important and comprehensive statements.

The year 1994 was a time of tragedy for the Great Lakes region. The effects of conflict and instability, which began in Rwanda and spread far, engulfing three countries, are still being felt far and wide throughout the whole continent. The year 2003 is the moment of

hope. The Great Lakes conference should become a landmark for peace.

Conflicts in the Great Lakes region have multiple casualties. They resulted from the aftermath of colonization, a history of political and economic instability, ethnic hatred and rivalry and the illegal exploitation of natural resources. Every conflict in the region has transborder linkages and effects. Indeed, conflicts have often spilled across borders, as we have seen in the case of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

The causes of conflicts are complex in the Great Lakes region and so are their solutions. While it is necessary to address a conflict at national and subnational levels, it is not possible to also sustain peace until it is achieved and sustained at the national level. In the Great Lakes region, as in West Africa, because of the transborder effects, a conflict in any given country cannot become completely resolved unless peace and stability is restored to the entire region. A regional approach to conflict resolution is therefore essential.

Pakistan fully supports the initiative to convene an international conference next year on peace, security, democracy and development in the Great Lakes region. We commend the efforts of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General Ibrahima Fall, as well as those of his predecessors, in launching this process. We also welcome Tanzania's offer to hold the conference next year.

Pakistan supports the objectives of this conference. We join in encouraging full regional ownership and greater international partnership in the conference process. While supporting the conference initiative, the Security Council must also play a more corrective role in promoting peace and stability in the region. Peacekeeping and peacemaking efforts already authorized by the Council need to be augmented by further action-oriented measures and initiatives aimed at consolidating peace and eliminating some of the causes of conflict in the region.

First, we would call for the further expansion of the United Nations peacekeeping presence in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and as conditions permit, the deployment of a United Nations peacekeeping force in Burundi, subject to the agreement of all parties. A greater United Nations peacekeeping presence on the ground will enhance and

support the United Nations and African Union initiatives for peace in the region.

Secondly, in order to make more effective the arms embargo in the western part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the Security Council must consider ways to track the illegal exploiters of resources — who have tentacles throughout the region and beyond — to their sources of funds, as well as to the points where those funds are converted into arms.

Thirdly, both the causes of and the solutions to the conflicts in the Great Lakes region have political and economic aspects. The Security Council, which deals only with peace and security matters, is ill-equipped to address all of the issues comprehensively. The Economic and Social Council, on the other hand, deals with countries emerging from conflict. The situation in Burundi is an example which is being handled by both the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council. Perhaps it would be a more efficient use of the time and effort of both the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council to form a composite committee or committees for the Great Lakes region to comprehensively address, and offer, solutions to the multidimensional aspects of the conflicts in the region.

Mr. Ayafor (Cameroon) (*spoke in French*): My delegation associates itself with the condolences expressed to Turkey and the United Kingdom for the victims who died as a result of today's terrorist attack. We commend the Secretary-General for his statement and we welcome the presence in our midst of the Ministers of Mozambique and Tanzania and the representative of the Commission of the African Union.

Allow me to thank Mr. Ibrahima Fall, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the Great Lakes region, for his clear and informative presentation and for his introduction to the report of the Secretary-General on preparations for the international conference on peace, security and development in the Great Lakes region (S/2003/1099).

My country, by virtue of its geographical proximity to the region, welcomes in many respects the organization of this public meeting of the Council. We are convinced, and have been for a long time, that the holding of a conference of this kind would be timely and would enable us to lay the foundation for peace and sustainable development in order to emerge from the cycle of violence, conflict and poverty that for

decades has been the lot of the peoples of the Great Lakes region.

We thank and commend Mr. Ibrahima Fall for his tireless efforts to bring about this conference and in working towards its success. The progress made thus far in the preparatory process also deserves commendation. The concept paper has been prepared, the goals and organization of the conference have been outlined and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General has initiated an intensive process of consultations with Governments of the subregion, donors and other interested parties.

From 23 to 24 June 2003, a meeting of National Coordinators of the countries of the Great Lakes region took place in Nairobi, marking the beginning of the preparatory process. A provisional timetable for the various stages of the preparatory process and for the holding of the conference was proposed. We welcome the involvement of the African Union in this process and the appointment of Mr. Keli Walubita as special envoy of the African Union for the Great Lakes region.

The importance of this conference to the countries and peoples of the Great Lakes region needs no elaboration. The success of the conference will depend on the commitment and political will of those countries, but will also depend, in large part, on the support of the international community. It is therefore crucial for the international community to continue providing active support to the preparatory process and to the conference itself. In this regard, my delegation welcomes the initiative of Canada to create a group of friends of the Great Lakes region to provide multifaceted support to the preparation and organization of the conference.

We support the request made by the Secretary-General in paragraph 31 of his report, to strengthen coordination with the Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the Great Lakes region as well as the financial and human resources the conference would require. We welcome the presidential statement that has been negotiated, as it includes a positive reaction to that appeal.

Regarding the countries invited to the conference, we should recall that there is a close interrelationship and many similarities between the problems faced by the Great Lakes region and the Central African region. We should recall that the many conflicts and massacres that have scarred the recent history of the Great Lakes

region have had repercussions in nearly every country of Central Africa, including the influx of refugees and illicit weapons and increased insecurity. Aware of those realities, at the 19th Ministerial Meeting of the United Nations Standing Advisory Committee on Security Questions in Central Africa, held in Brazzaville from 14 to 17 May 2003, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Central Africa demanded a greater involvement by the countries of Central Africa in the preparatory process and in the holding of the conference. My delegation wishes to take the opportunity provided by this debate to reiterate that concern and to insist on the participation of all Governments of Central Africa in the conference.

In conclusion, I wish to pledge my delegation's support once again to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Ibrahim Fall, and to express our support for the content of the presidential statement to be issued at the end of the debate.

Mr. Trautwein (Germany): At the outset, I would like to extend my delegation's condolences to the Governments of Turkey and the United Kingdom for the tragic loss of life caused by the insidious bombing attack this morning in Istanbul.

My delegation associates itself fully with the concise statement that the representative of Italy presented this morning on behalf of the European Union. We also warmly welcome the important participation of Minister Madeira and Deputy Minister Shareef, as well as that of Special Envoy Mr. Walubita and Special Representative Mr. Fall.

Germany is grateful and thanks the Angolan presidency for the opportunity to discuss the international conference on the Great Lakes region. The idea has been on the agenda of the Security Council for a long time. It is only now that the conditions in the region are beginning to improve in a way that would allow such conference to address the economic, security, humanitarian and cultural issues that for a long time have generated regional instability.

Like its partners in the European Union, Germany fully supports the initiative for the Great Lakes region conference to be held under the auspices of the United Nations and the African Union. With the progress we are currently witnessing in the peace processes in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and in Burundi, the convening of the conference is indeed timely.

Allow me to make some comments on the concepts and observations contained in the report of the Secretary-General.

First, I would like to comment on African ownership. We see regional and African ownership of the conference — and indeed of the entire process — as one of the pillars of the conference and as vitally important for its success. Ultimately, only through the political commitment of all the countries concerned can sustained peace and development be achieved in the region.

It is common practice in an international setting to name agreements after the place where they were signed. Thus, we have agreements named Lusaka, Luanda, Pretoria, Sun City, Arusha and Dar es Salaam. That fact alone highlights that throughout the long, often difficult and still ongoing process for durable peace and stability in the region, the efforts of African countries and their leaders have been indispensable. We hope that all African countries wishing to contribute to the conference or to continue their contribution to the peace processes in the region will be given the opportunity to do so.

Furthermore, the conference can build on many African institutions and mechanisms that are already in place. We believe that it would be useful for the conference, where appropriate, to draw on the experience and resources of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), the East African Community, the Southern African Development Community, the African Development Bank and others for a consistent and integrated approach to the issues that will be addressed during the conference.

My second point concerns the role of the international community. The second pillar of the conference, in our view, is support from the international community. That support can and will take many forms and will undoubtedly come from diverse forums — one being the Group of Friends that is in the process of being formed. We are grateful to Canada for its leadership on that initiative. Mobilization and coordination of donor contributions will be one of the objectives of the Group, but it will also be a forum for discussion of mutual expectations, concepts, ideas and procedures. As a member of the Group of Friends, Germany will support the preparatory process and measures that have been decided upon. Other forums will include the existing

bodies and frameworks for economic cooperation, in order to avoid duplication of efforts and mechanisms and dispersal of contributions. A coordinated approach will contribute to the efficient use of financial resources and personnel.

My third comment is on expectations. Germany firmly believes that expectations for the initial stage of the conference should not be set too high. There are many obstacles to overcome that, until recently, seemed insurmountable. The decision to design the conference as a process, rather than as a one-time event, accurately reflects the complexity of the issues that need to be dealt with. A successful outcome of the first phase of the conference would be agreement on a set of principles and clear benchmarks to assess their implementation. We believe that that is not an unrealistic objective, provided that the focus of the conference is on the thematic areas the Secretary-General has outlined in his report.

The fourth point I should like to make is on the thematic areas of the conference. After returning from its mission to the region in June this year, the Security Council once again stated its belief that a conference on the Great Lakes region could help to address and resolve long-term peace and security issues. The countries of the Great Lakes region have obligations towards their people, their neighbours and the international community. Those include respect for human rights and international humanitarian law, ending the culture of impunity and cessation of the illegal exploitation of natural resources and of support as well as of support to armed groups and movements. All of those issues can be adequately addressed within the framework of the four thematic areas that have been identified. Indeed, all of those issues are interrelated. Peace and development are two sides of the same coin: without peace, there can be no sustainable development, and without development, peace will remain fragile. Economic cooperation in the Great Lakes region cannot be separated from other confidence-building measures. We are confident that the actions the conference agrees on will reflect that interconnection.

My last comment is on the involvement of civil society. We welcome the intention to involve civil society. We are interested to learn how this involvement will be ensured and how concerns from different walks of society can be addressed throughout the process. The Security Council has recently

reiterated that women must be included in all peace-building and development processes. We hope that the rather broad aim of "taking the gender perspective into account" will translate into the participation of women on an equal footing and at all stages of the process.

Additional information on the involvement of other stakeholders and the private sector would also be welcome.

In concluding, I should like to briefly touch upon an important element of peacekeeping in eastern Congo, namely the weapons embargo relating to North and South Kivu and Ituri. The Council should shortly address the question of strengthening the embargo so that it becomes an effective instrument. Indications that various actors are violating the rules set forth in resolution 1493 (2003) need to be followed up. We must respond in an efficient and effective manner to violations of Security Council resolutions if we want embargoes to have a deterring effect.

Regarding Burundi, the agreement between the Transitional Government and Conseil national pour la défense de la démocratie/Forces pour la défense de la démocratie (CNDD FDD) that was signed on 16 November in Dar es Salaam is encouraging. Should the Forces nationales de libération (FNL) still fail to enter into negotiations with the Government within the three-month period as set out by the regional initiative and instead resort to military means, the Council should, among other options for a comprehensive ceasefire, consider a weapons embargo against Rwanda's FNL. We must not allow one militia group to become an obstacle to peace and stability and thus prolong the plight of the people in Burundi, hampering at the same time the efforts to make the Great Lakes conference a success — a success which is so badly needed by the peoples of the entire region.

Mr. Sow (Guinea) (*spoke in French*): Criminal terrorist attacks have struck at the heart of the international community this morning in Istanbul. We convey our most heartfelt condolences to the families of the victims and to the peoples of the United Kingdom and Turkey.

The holding of this special meeting on the situation in the Great Lakes region under the presidency of your country, Angola, Mr. President, demonstrates the interest that the Security Council has always taken in recovery and stability in this sensitive part of Africa. My country pays tribute to the

Secretary-General for his statement at the beginning of our work and for his tireless efforts and dedication to consolidate peace and development in Africa.

The active involvement of the High Representative of the countries of the Great Lakes region and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, the special envoys of the current Chairman of the African Union and of the President of the Commission of the African Union with a view to discussing and examining, together with Council members, ways and means to concretize, within the timetables established, the international conference on the Great Lakes is a source of efficiency and coherence in our common undertaking and mutual obligations.

Similarly, the resolute commitment of the European Union, as expressed so eloquently by the Permanent Representative of Italy, is a source of true satisfaction. My delegation hopes that from this interactive dialogue relevant elements may emerge better to define the efforts for the holding and success of the upcoming international conference on peace, security, democracy and development in the Great Lakes region.

To better understand the true scope and outlines of the future international conference, a brief review of the context of conflicts and their political, security and socio-economic impact is necessary.

Several studies of the conflicts in the region have concluded that those conflicts are engendered by the interaction of often complex internal factors and cross-border problems, as well as problems related to population movements, poverty, unemployment, easy access to light weapons and questions pertaining to governance, as well as by the activities of dissident irregular forces used by political and military actors pursuing solely their own interests. It is deplorable that these conflicts have led to the forced displacement of a large part of the population, sometimes serving as human shields and as sources of combatant recruitment for rebel groups.

After more than a decade of conflict and more than 2 million civilian deaths — a terrible toll, unfortunately far from being the largest among contemporary conflicts, according to several sources — my delegation now welcomes the fact that today in the Great Lakes region we can see a glimmer of hope on the horizon.

Against that background we repeat our full satisfaction at the conclusion, some months ago now, of several bilateral and multilateral peace agreements, and principles of good-neighbourliness and cooperation, which undoubtedly will provide benchmarks for the international conference that we are defining.

We are convinced as of now that the letter and spirit of those agreements will be reflected in the deliberations of the international conference in order to restore peace and security, ensure integrated regional development, and consolidate the process of national reconciliation and democratic construction in countries emerging from conflict or in post-conflict situations. In this regard, my delegation would express its appreciation to the Secretary-General for the information contained in his report of 17 November 2003, a comprehensive report which gives rise to the following comments.

Regarding participation and in order to guarantee the success of the conference, my delegation would stress the need for involving, *inter alia*, all of the States of the Great Lakes region and neighbouring States in every stage of the forthcoming conference. This expansion would lead to a consensus on cross-border issues, ensure application of recommendations agreed upon, and facilitate international assistance that will be required.

In the preparatory process, we would note that assessment of the implementation of previous political agreements and their harmonization at the national level and by sector, would contribute to normalizing inter- and intra-State relations. In that perspective, the adoption of a regional programme for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of former irregular forces should take priority. This indeed is the essential precondition for restoring peace and security, which in turn is needed for any policy of sustainable growth and poverty reduction. Moreover, despite the vulnerability of the security sector, far-reaching reforms are needed and call for the cooperation of all actors.

If indeed security, especially a structured disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) programme, would contribute to largely reducing poverty, nonetheless we should note that certain non-trivial obstacles remain at the core of the concerns of post-conflict situation countries, prominent amongst which we would note the fear that restructuring and

reducing the size of armed forces might in turn affect national security, the difficulty of proceeding with DDR with armed groups outside the borders, the near absence of opportunities for economic reintegration within latent conflict situations, and the reluctance of donors to provide funds for an unstructured regional programme.

My delegation hopes that the preparatory process, as noted in the report of the Secretary-General, will be examined carefully in depth by all parties concerned at the national and regional levels. For example, it might lead to the conclusion of a regional stability pact and provide a complete framework in several areas: security, social and economic and humanitarian.

My country gives its full support to the endeavours of countries of the Great Lakes and Central African regions, and the sustained efforts of the African Union and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Ibrahima Fall, to bring about the success of this conference. We urge bilateral and multilateral donors, the entire United Nations system, non-governmental organizations and other development partners to strive together and make every effort to make this event everything its initiators hope it will be in response to the expectations of the peoples of the region.

I cannot conclude without reaffirming that conflict prevention and peace-building in the Great Lakes region are the underlying bases of a comprehensive regional approach to the establishment of a secure environment, the promotion of socio-economic well-being and the effective participation of the Governments of the region in our common endeavours.

The President: I shall now make a very brief statement in my capacity as representative of Angola.

I would like to start by welcoming Minister Francisco Madeira, representing Mozambique in its capacity as Chairman of the African Union; the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of Tanzania, Mr. Abdulkader Shareef; and Keli Walubita, Special Envoy of the Chairperson of the Commission of the African Union for the Great Lakes Region.

I would like to thank the Secretary-General for his keynote statement this morning and to commend Mr. Ibrahima Fall, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, for his comprehensive briefing on

the preparatory process of the international conference on peace, security, democracy and development in the Great Lakes region.

This initiative is an effective contribution to the creation of mechanisms for the strengthening of the traditional friendly relations among States in the region. The process of the conference also lends support to the efforts under way in that part of the African continent in general and in each of the countries in particular.

The process of the Great Lakes conference follows the logic of General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV) of 24 October 1970, and particularly of its annex pertaining to the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. The Constitutive Act of the African Union also stands firmly on the same principle.

Some years after the adoption by the Security Council of pertinent resolutions and presidential statements, the new developments in the region have created favourable conditions for the start of a new era for the Great Lakes region. This enhances the potential feasibility of the conference, given its unanimous acceptance by the countries of the region.

An important role has also been played by the efforts of the African Union in the search for a global solution to the problems affecting the region since the Tunis Summit of 1994, while the Maputo Summit of July 2003 reiterated the support of the continent for the process. We welcome the partnership between the African Union and the United Nations.

The establishment of good and friendly relations among States in the Great Lakes region is a prerequisite for peace and development. Following this principle, the Republic of Angola undertook initiatives to enable the establishment and strengthening of diplomatic relations among Angola, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Rwanda and Uganda, which culminated in the signing of an agreement, the Luanda Accord, and the creation of the Ituri Pacification Committee in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

The Republic of Angola has been one of the countries most affected by the lack of peace and stability in the Great Lakes region. More than 2,000 citizens from the Great Lakes region, mostly from

Rwanda, were involved in the Angolan armed conflict. Among these was one of the leaders of the 1994 genocide, a war criminal handed over by the Angolan authorities to the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda. In addition, thousands of refugees from the region remain in Angola.

As the preparatory process for the conference evolves, it is our conviction that the issue of the scope of the conference should be carefully addressed by the African Union, the United Nations and, in particular, the core countries that are directly or indirectly affected by the conflict. Within this framework, Angola is ready to continue to make its contribution to the establishment and consolidation of peace, security, stability and development in the Great Lakes region.

At this stage of the process, more efforts will be required from all of us. In addition, it is imperative that adequate resources be made available for the fulfilment of this task. The assistance of the international community is pivotal. Without it, it would be difficult to successfully bring peace, security and development to the Great Lakes region.

I now resume my function as President of the Council.

I give the floor to Mr. Ibrahima Fall to respond to the comments made by members of the Council — briefly, if possible, given the lateness of the hour.

Mr. Fall: I will be very brief. The representative of France raised the issue of how neighbours would be fully accepted in the conference. I can only report that when the meeting of the National Coordinators was held in June in Nairobi, the issue of Zambia was raised. It was at that meeting that a decision was taken to include Zambia among the core countries. I think the same procedure may be followed. I intend to discuss with President Konaré of the African Union Commission the issue of how the Union and the United Nations can coordinate their action in that way.

The same representative raised the issue of what concrete actions will be put in motion after the 2004 summit. I think that this will be concretely responded to by the summit itself. I am sure that the preparatory process will help the summit to respond in this connection.

The representative of Germany raised the issue of how the involvement of civil society, especially women, will be ensured. What I can add to the report

and my presentation is that the gender dimension will be kept. We are currently in the process, for example, of recruiting a consultant on gender issues for the Office of the Special Representative in order to ensure not only that the meeting of the women will be prepared in a timely manner, but also that, in our daily work in the preparatory process, my Office will take into account the gender dimension.

As to the involvement of the private sector and other sectors in the conference, I want to say that we are in contact with the labour unions and the private sectors in several countries of that region. We intend to involve them because, at the end of the day, this process should also be theirs, taking into account the important impact that economic development and regional integration can have on their business.

Last but not least, I would like to thank all the countries that have expressed their support for the preparatory process in general, the African Union and the United Nations partnership — especially the Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the Great Lakes Region. I also wish in particular to thank Cameroon and other countries that have referred to the necessity of providing adequate resources for the Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the Great Lakes Region and have assured the Office that that would be reflected in the presidential statement to be issued at the end of this meeting.

The President: I thank Mr. Ibrahima Fall for his additional comments.

I think that some questions have been referred to the representative of the African Union. I would therefore like to give the floor to Minister Madeira to comment and respond.

Mr. Madeira (Mozambique): I would like, first of all, to express, on behalf of my Government and on behalf of the African Union, our condemnation of the despicable acts of terrorism that were committed in Turkey against the citizens of that country and of the United Kingdom. I convey to those two countries our heartfelt condolences.

The Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation wanted to know what the African Union can do to combat impunity. I want to say, first of all, that we in the African Union adhere to, and strive to practice, the principles of democracy, good governance

and the rule of law. Democracy cannot go hand in hand with impunity. We have striven to ensure that crime does not go unpunished by, in the first place, doing our utmost to ensure that the Rwanda Tribunal is in place and working. We have done the same with regard to Sierra Leone. With regard to the Lusaka Agreement, we in the African Union have been extremely active in ensuring the effectiveness of the tracking down, neutralizing and handing over of negative forces to the Tribunal in Arusha.

As the Council will have noted, many African countries have effectively adhered to all efforts and principles aiming to ensure that crime does not go unpunished, including the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court. At this very moment, we are working hard to ensure that the Peace and Security Council of the African Union is put in place in order that we may have a proper instrument to handle these problems. Many of the people who are in Arusha today were handed over by African countries, including your own country, Mr. President, Angola, which has been responsible for handing over very important personalities responsible for genocide in Rwanda who are now being tried in Arusha.

Having said that, the problem with Africa is one of poverty and underdevelopment. We want to do many things. We want to undertake many initiatives. But if we do not have resources, those initiatives will remain just words. That is our problem. As long as we do not have resources, many of those things will not move ahead and we may be erroneously perceived as merely sitting idly by and talking.

We will try to develop ourselves. We will try to become rich. We will try to have everything we need to prove to everyone that we are as committed as they are to ensuring that crime does not go unpunished. Even in our own countries, because of a lack of resources, there is severe institutional weakness. Our own criminals go unpunished. We look for them and we cannot track them down. That is also reflected at the level of the international community.

The President: I thank Minister Madeira for his comments and responses.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council recalls its Presidential Statement of 24 April 1997 (S/PRST/1997/22) and its other relevant statements and resolutions calling for the holding at an appropriate time of an international conference on peace, security, democracy and development in the Great Lakes region of Africa, with the participation of all Governments of the region of the Great Lakes and Central Africa and all others concerned, to be organized under the aegis of the United Nations and the African Union, with a view to achieving a sustainable peace, security and stability for all countries in the region, in particular through the full normalization of their relations and the establishment of confidence-building measures and mechanisms.

"The Security Council considers that the holding of the proposed conference will help build on the progress made in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Burundi peace processes to achieve lasting peace and promote the national reconciliation processes in all countries concerned in the region.

"The Security Council welcomes the progress made towards the convening of the proposed conference, expresses satisfaction at the fact that the countries of the region have launched the preparatory process of the conference with the first meeting of their national coordinators, held in June 2003 in Nairobi, and considers it now crucial to follow up this initial step with intensified efforts. It takes note with appreciation of the briefing by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the Great Lakes region, Mr. Ibrahima Fall, and welcomes the offer made by the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania to host a summit during the year 2004.

"The Security Council encourages the Governments concerned, with the support of their civil societies, their neighbours and development partners, to continue their efforts to bring about a successful conference, based on a regional, all-inclusive and action-oriented approach. It stresses the importance of the participation in this conference of all States concerned, in particular those neighbouring the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Burundi, and encourages the

States in the region to reach early agreement on participation in the conference.

"The Security Council emphasizes the relevance to the proposed conference of the Solemn Declaration of the Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation in Africa (CSSDCA) adopted by the Organization of African Unity Lomé Summit in July 2000, of the Maputo Decision adopted by the Executive Council of the African Union in July 2003 and of the Declaration of Principles on Good-Neighbourly Relations and Cooperation adopted by the Governments of Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Rwanda and Uganda in New York on 25 September 2003, as well as of the framework of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD).

"The Security Council appeals to the countries of the region and to the international community to provide sustained political and diplomatic support as well as adequate technical and financial assistance so that the conference is well prepared and timely, and so that effective

follow-up actions are taken. It commends the active partnership between the United Nations and the African Union in all aspects relating to the preparation of the proposed conference, and welcomes the appointment of Mr. Keli Walubita as Special Envoy of the Chairperson of the African Union Commission for the Great Lakes region.

"The Security Council calls on the countries of the region and the members of the international community to support the efforts of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the Great Lakes region and the Special Envoy of the Chairperson of the African Union Commission for the Great Lakes region, and expresses its gratitude to the Secretary-General for keeping it informed of developments in the region and requests him to continue to do so on a regular basis."

The Council has thus concluded its present consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 1.45 p.m.



Security Council

Distr.: General
20 November 2003

Original: English

Official communiqué of the 4866th (closed) meeting of the Security Council

**Held in private at Headquarters, New York, on Thursday,
20 November 2003, at 3 p.m.**

In accordance with rule 55 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, the following communiqué was issued through the Secretary-General in place of a verbatim record:

"On 20 November 2003, the Security Council, pursuant to annex II, sections A and B of resolution 1353 (2001), held its 4866th meeting in private with the troop-contributing countries to the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP).

"The Security Council and the troop-contributing countries heard a briefing under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure by Mr. Wolfgang Weisbrod-Weber, Officer-in-Charge of the Europe and Latin America Division of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations."



**Security Council**

Fifty-eighth year

Provisional

4867th meetingThursday, 20 November 2003, 5 p.m.
New York

<i>President:</i>	Mr. Gaspar Martins	(Angola)
<i>Members:</i>	Bulgaria	Mr. Raytchev
	Cameroon	Mr. Banoum
	Chile	Mr. Muñoz
	China	Mr. Wang Guangya
	France	Mr. De La Sablière
	Germany	Mr. Pleuger
	Guinea	Mr. Boubacar Diallo
	Mexico	Mr. Aguilar Zinser
	Pakistan	Mr. Akram
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Spain	Mr. Oyarzún
	Syrian Arab Republic	Mr. Mekdad
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Emyr Jones Parry
	United States of America	Mr. Negroponte

Agenda

Threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.



The meeting was called to order at 5 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Turkey, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Pamir (Turkey) took a seat at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2003/1106, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

It is my understanding that the Security Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by a show of hands.

In favour:

Angola, Bulgaria, Cameroon, Chile, China, France, Germany, Guinea, Mexico, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, Syrian Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1516 (2003).

I now give the floor to the representative of Turkey.

Mr. Pamir (Turkey): The recent attacks in Istanbul have reopened fresh wounds. Once again, in the face of the most cowardly and unspeakable acts of violence, we are confronting the unchanging truth behind the ugly face of terrorism. We see plainly that terrorism is a means of oppression directed at the very existence of human life, civilization and our common values — values distilled from the moment the human adventure started on Earth. As a nation that had to suffer for more than a decade through one of the most blatant forms of this evil scourge, we called most earnestly for decisive international action and cooperation, long before it struck all around the world.

Just recently we were more successful in reaching a broader understanding that we should not distinguish between the motivations, forms and so-called causes of terrorism. However, I cannot say that we have been as successful in showing the same sensitivity in not making a distinction between the victims of terrorism. I cannot stress enough that we must all avoid falling into that trap. Just as there are no good terrorists, there are no second-class victims. All terrorists, therefore, deserve to be treated in the same manner; so do the victims of terrorism. A selective approach will prove to be the wrong way to proceed, as terrorism has always turned eventually against the very hands that have fed, abetted or condoned it.

Finally, as the representative of the host nation, I extend my condolences to my British colleague. I thank those in the Chamber who have expressed their sympathy. An extensive and thorough investigation is under way and has already produced more than circumstantial evidence.

I would like to thank you, Mr. President, for having convened this meeting to show solidarity with the aggrieved people of Turkey.

The President: The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 5.10 p.m.



Security Council

Fifty-eighth year

Provisional

4868th meeting

Thursday, 20 November 2003, 5.10 p.m.
New York

<i>President:</i>	Mr. Gaspar Martins	(Angola)
<i>Members:</i>	Bulgaria	Mr. Raytchev
	Cameroon	Mr. Banoun
	Chile	Mr. Muñoz
	China	Mr. Wang Guangya
	France	Mr. De La Sablière
	Germany	Mr. Pleuger
	Guinea	Mr. Boubacar Diallo
	Mexico	Mr. Aguilar Zinser
	Pakistan	Mr. Akram
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Spain	Mr. Oyarzún
	Syrian Arab Republic	Mr. Mekdad
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Emyr Jones Parry
	United States of America	Mr. Negroponte

Agenda

The situation between Iraq and Kuwait

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.



The meeting was called to order at 5 10 p.m.

Expression of farewell to Mr. Adolfo Aguilar Zinser, Permanent Representative of Mexico to the United Nations

The President: I understand that this is the last meeting of the Security Council at which our colleague Ambassador Adolfo Aguilar Zinser, Permanent Representative of Mexico, will be present. I would like to take this opportunity, on behalf of the members of the Council, to pay tribute to Ambassador Adolfo Aguilar Zinser for the contribution that he has made to the work of the Council, in particular the Sierra Leone sanctions Committee.

As a member of the Council, he has distinguished himself with his intense interest in the role of the United Nations in post-conflict situations. In April this year he made that issue the main theme in wrapping up his presidency. As a result, the Council held a constructive debate on the importance of restoring security conditions, the rule of law, the protection of human rights, institution-building and the socio-economic reconstruction in States emerging from conflict.

As the Chairman of the Sierra Leone sanctions Committee, he not only worked energetically to fulfil the mandate of the Committee, but he led the Security Council in taking a comprehensive approach to Liberia. He also provided effective leadership to the Security Council's mission to Guinea-Bissau, which was greatly appreciated by all of his colleagues.

In bidding Ambassador Aguilar Zinser farewell, I wish him, on behalf of Council members, all success in his future endeavours.

Mr. Aguilar Zinser (Mexico) (*spoke in Spanish*): Serving on the Security Council as Permanent Representative of my country has been an unparalleled honour and responsibility. The Security Council is the body which, on behalf of the United Nations and based on the United Nations Charter, takes the most important decisions for the preservation of peace and security in the world. From Mexico's standpoint, and that of my delegation, the Security Council is and must be the body that identifies the collective interests of all States and it is the organ that must act to preserve the vitality of international law.

I wish to express my personal gratitude to you, Mr. President, and to all the members of the Security Council with whom I have worked during these nearly two years on the many tasks that have gathered us together, and on which we have had discussions and in most cases agreed. In these two years we have succeeded in fashioning an increasingly strong Security Council.

I also want to express my gratitude to the teams of all of the Member States of the Security Council with whom we have had the privilege of working and in particular, to the Secretary-General who is our guiding light in this Organization. We thank him for the leadership with which he has inspired our work. Our support and love go to the United Nations and to his team. I also want to thank Joseph Stefanides, Norma Chan, Alek Martinovic, Shola Omoregie, Troy Setiawan and certainly I am forgetting some names. I want to thank everyone with whom we have worked on a daily basis and on the two occasions when Mexico presided over the Council during this period.

Very special thanks go to the interpreters as well, who had to decipher our hieroglyphics on many occasions and who helped us express our views to the members of the Council here in this Chamber and to understand each other's views here, as well as in the informal meetings.

My appreciation also goes to the Security team at the United Nations. I want to officially tell Rocky that Mexican coffee will continue to flow into the Security Council even though I will not be here.

During the two years I have served in the United Nations I have had an exceptional experience. Like many other delegates, the first thing one learns when one arrives at the United Nations is how to criticize it. The second thing you learn is how to defend and cherish it. The third thing you learn is to need it. The United Nations is, indeed, an indispensable organization which is not only composed of its Member nations, but is also an organization that all citizens of the world must feel themselves to be part of.

We, the citizens of the world must be the defenders of the United Nations and must perpetuate its work in civil society. Mexico is a country committed to multilateralism and committed to the United Nations, and it will continue to be committed with the same will and determination and with the same resolve with which I have tried to work in representing my country.

The President: I thank representative Aguilar Zinser, and all of us feel as he does.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation between Iraq and Kuwait

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations. I welcome the presence of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, at this meeting, and I give him the floor.

The Secretary-General: Since this will be the last time I will speak in this Chamber in the presence of my friend Ambassador Aguilar Zinser from Mexico, let me also say how much we will miss him, his wit, his sense of humour, his independent spirit and his keen sense of justice and fair play. He has made a contribution and I am happy to know that even though he is leaving us, the United Nations and the Security Council, the United Nations will be with him and he will be one of our ambassadors out there, and will speak about the important and indispensable role of this Organization. We will miss you, Mr. Ambassador, and you can leave with the full knowledge that you have made a difference and you have made a contribution.

The Council meets today to mark the completion of one of the largest, most complex and most unusual tasks that was ever entrusted to the Secretariat — the only humanitarian programme ever to have been funded entirely from resources belonging to the nation it was designed to help.

The mandate you gave us to assume temporary custody of Iraq's oil exports and apply the revenue to a humanitarian programme is unprecedented in the history of the United Nations. It was a task that arose from the sanctions imposed on Iraq, also by this Council, after the invasion and occupation of Kuwait in August 1990. At that time, few of us could have imagined that those sanctions would remain in place for nearly 13 years, or the terrible toll they would impose on the health and nutrition of millions of innocent people, particularly the most vulnerable.

As early as 1991, with growing concern over the humanitarian situation in the country, the United

Nations proposed measures to enable Iraq to sell limited quantities of oil to meet its people's needs. The Government of Iraq declined these offers contained in Security Council resolutions 706 (1991) and 712 (1991). By 1995, with the door to exports and imports closed, Iraq's essential services from electricity to hospital care and education had been severely degraded. Yet, there was still no sign that Iraq would soon comply fully with the conditions the Council had imposed for the lifting of sanctions.

In April 1995, rightly considering that innocent Iraqis should, as far as possible, be spared the consequences of their Government's refusal to comply, the Council adopted resolution 986 (1995) establishing the oil-for-food programme. It was not until May 1996 that the Government of Iraq agreed to sign a memorandum of understanding.

The first Iraqi oil export under the oil-for-food programme was in December 1996 and the first shipments of food arrived in March 1997. Under the programme the Secretary-General was required to supervise the sale of Iraqi oil and to monitor the spending of the proceeds on specific groups and services for the benefit of the Iraqi people.

In nearly seven years of operation, the oil-for-food programme has been required to meet an almost impossible series of challenges, using some \$46 billion of Iraqi export earnings on behalf of the Iraqi people. Under it, nine different United Nations agencies, programmes and funds developed and managed humanitarian operations in Iraq, meeting the needs of the civilian population across some 24 economic and social sectors.

During these seven years, the programme delivered food rations sufficient to feed all 27 million residents of Iraq. As a result, the malnutrition rate among Iraqi children was reduced by 50 per cent, national vaccination campaigns reduced child mortality from preventable diseases, and as of today, there have been no reported cases of polio in Iraq for almost three years. Electricity blackouts in Baghdad were reduced under peak summer loads. Clean water became more available for personal use. And the programme enabled the overcrowded schools throughout the country to operate in two shifts instead of three.

Let me stress that the bulk of all the work performed by the oil-for-food programme in Iraq has been carried out by Iraqi nationals working for the

United Nations. I wish to express my gratitude and admiration for the competence, loyalty and devotion of the national staff, many of whom have incurred considerable risks in carrying out the programme. Indeed, a significant number have lost their lives, and I pay special tribute to them.

Let me also pay tribute to the international staff who have worked on the programme, and particularly to its Executive Director, Benon Sevan. He has served the Organization in this, as in his many previous capacities, far beyond the call of duty.

At midnight tomorrow, in accordance with Security Council resolutions, we are handing over all these responsibilities, together with the remaining funds and assets — assets ranging from schools to electrical power stations and some \$8.2 billion worth of food, medicines and other essential supplies — to the Coalition Provisional Authority.

The actual delivery of those items will continue well into next year. Any unspent or undisbursed amounts will be transferred to the Development Fund for Iraq after the programme closes.

I am glad to say that the Coalition Provisional Authority is making arrangements to transfer most of the 2,500 Iraqis who have been working for the United Nations in the three northern governorates to posts in the local government. I hope their colleagues serving in the centre and the south of Iraq — over eight hundred of them in all — will receive similar consideration.

We take pride in the fact that we have achieved an orderly handover of such a large and expensive programme on time and in spite of the current insecurity in Iraq and the disruptive bomb attack on our headquarters. Especially since the cruel loss of life and injuries on 19 August — not just of our international staff, but of our local staff as well — all of us at the United Nations now feel intimately connected to the trauma that Iraqis are living through day by day. We are closing the oil-for-food programme, but we remain determined to continue helping Iraq's long-suffering people in whatever ways are still open to us, and we are determined to implement the other mandates you have given us.

The President: I thank the Secretary-General for his statement.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council has heard the Secretary-General's statement and has considered the briefing by the Executive Director of the Iraq Programme on the termination on 21 November 2003 of the United Nations humanitarian programme for Iraq (the Programme) and the transfer of the responsibility for the administration of any remaining activity under the Programme to the Coalition Provisional Authority in Iraq in accordance with Security Council resolution 1483 (2003).

"The Security Council underlines the exceptionally important role of the Programme in providing humanitarian assistance to the people of Iraq under the regime of sanctions imposed by the Security Council on the previous Government of Iraq. Under this unique programme the value of humanitarian goods delivered to Iraq during the period from December 1996 through March 2003 amounted to about \$30 billion. Those deliveries made it possible to provide to the Iraqi people essential foods and medicines, as well as to supply various equipment and materials for the key sectors of the Iraqi economy. Purchases under the Programme will in the next few months play a key role in the economic reconstruction of Iraq by providing vital goods in the amount of more than of \$6 billion.

"The Security Council expresses its deep gratitude to the Secretary-General, to the Office of the Iraq Programme, to United Nations personnel who worked on the ground in Iraq, and to all other United Nations agencies and structures involved and applauds their commitment and professionalism. It also thanks the Chairmen and members of the 661 Committee, for their dedicated efforts to implement the Programme since its inception and in implementing resolution 1483 (2003).

"The Security Council emphasizes the need for continued international efforts aimed at the reconstruction of Iraq and, in this context, took note with satisfaction of the statements made by the representatives of the United States and the United Kingdom on the measures which the

Coalition Provisional Authority intends to take in order to continue the payment mechanisms and deliveries under the Programme.

"The Security Council recognizes the important role of the United Nations in coordinating the termination of the Programme, including the transfer at the earliest possible time of all surplus funds in the escrow accounts to the Development Fund for Iraq.

"The Security Council recalls the vital role foreseen for the United Nations in resolutions 1483 (2003), 1500 (2003) and 1511 (2003), as

circumstances permit, inter alia, in the areas of humanitarian assistance, facilitation of economic rehabilitation and reconstruction."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/2003/24.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 5.30 p.m.



Security Council

Fifty-eighth year

Provisional

4869th meeting

Friday, 21 November 2003, 10 a.m.

New York

<i>President:</i>	Mr. Gaspar Martins	(Angola)
<i>Members:</i>	Bulgaria	Mr. Raytchev
	Cameroon	Mr. Belinga-Eboutou
	Chile	Mr. Muñoz
	China	Mr. Wang Guangya
	France	Mr. De La Sablière
	Germany	Mr. Pleuger
	Guinea	Mr. Sow
	Mexico	Mr. Pujalte
	Pakistan	Mr. Khalid
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Spain	Ms. Menéndez
	Syrian Arab Republic	Mr. Mekdad
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Emyr Jones Parry
	United States of America	Mr. Negroponte

Agenda

The situation between Iraq and Kuwait

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.



The meeting was called to order at 10.20 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation between Iraq and Kuwait

The President: The Security Council will now begin consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in prior consultations.

At this meeting the Security Council will hear briefings by His Excellency Mr. John Negroponte, the representative of the United States of America, and His Excellency Sir Emyr Jones Parry, the representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Mr. Negroponte (United States of America): When we came together on 21 August to discuss the implementation of resolution 1483 (2003), it was in the wake of the tragic attack of 19 August against United Nations headquarters in Baghdad. Three short months later, even more innocent people have sacrificed their lives in support of a vision of an Iraq that is a democratic, pluralistic country at peace with its neighbours and a full member of the international community. The same forces that have for so long plagued the Iraqi people continue to resort to murder and intimidation to prevent the realization of this vision. We saw these forces strike again in the heinous 12 November attack against the Italian contingent courageously serving in Nasiriyah. However, they have not and will not succeed in preventing the emergence of a new Iraq.

The people of Iraq are achieving success on a daily basis, some of which we will be discussing today. Yes, there are difficulties, and the price paid is high. Violence is directed against the Iraqi people and all those who are trying to assist them in creating a new Iraq. The international community owes it to the future peace and security of the region, as well as to the memory of the victims of 19 August, 12 November and other attacks, to build upon the unanimous passage of resolution 1511 (2003) and help the Iraqi people defend themselves against those who do not want the new Iraq to succeed.

Iraqis are well aware of the role they must play in their own defence, and they are taking on increasing

responsibility for their security every day. The Iraqi people are working to rebuild a strong Iraqi police force and to set up a new Iraqi army.

Iraqis also continue to take over administrative responsibilities and to provide for the delivery of basic services to their country's 25 million people. Today, Iraq's ministries are run by Iraqi ministers, appointed by and reporting to the Iraqi Governing Council. Iraqis are increasingly at the forefront of the reconstruction effort, from electricity to oil to schools. And today the oil-for-food programme comes to an end. This is one more important step in the establishment of a free Iraq, where the resources and wealth of the nation are used by and for the Iraqi people as they take charge of their future.

Regarding Iraq's political transition, we have always advocated the most rapid transfer practicable of governing authority to the Iraqi people. The 15 November announcement by the Governing Council of a political process to establish a representative transitional national assembly to assume full sovereign powers in 2004 was a dramatic step forward, and one that should be welcomed and supported by the international community.

This timetable, as called for by resolution 1511 (2003), ensures that Iraqis quickly take control of their own affairs, while basic freedoms and rights for all Iraqis are protected under the law. And, in accordance with the wishes of the Iraqi people, a permanent constitution will be drafted by a constitutional convention directly elected by the Iraqi people. The Governing Council's announcement is an important step toward realizing the vision of Iraq as a democratic, pluralistic country at peace with its neighbours.

Under the process announced on 15 November, a transitional national assembly will be formed to elect an executive branch, select ministers and serve as a legislative body. By 30 June 2004, this new transitional administration will assume full responsibility for governing Iraq. The Coalition Provisional Authority will then dissolve, as will the Iraqi Governing Council.

The Transitional National Assembly will be formed through caucuses at the provincial level. The selection and structure and powers of the Assembly will be established by a fundamental law, with basic principles of openness and transparency established as part of the 15 November agreement. The delegates to

the Transitional Assembly will be selected no later than 31 May 2004.

The fundamental law will protect freedom of speech and religion and will include a statement of equal rights for all Iraqis. The law will define the relationship between the central Government and provincial authorities. Importantly, the law will have an expiration date, by which time a permanent constitution for Iraq is to be drafted and a new Government of Iraq elected.

The process announced on 15 November establishes a timeline for the direct election of a constitutional convention, no later than 15 March 2005, to draft a permanent constitution for Iraq. The constitution will be ratified through a popular referendum, and a new Iraqi Government will be elected under terms of the ratified constitution no later than 31 December 2005.

As Iraqis assume increased responsibility for their own security and governance, those who seek to undermine a free and democratic Iraq will be further isolated. These basic steps — increased assumption by Iraqis for security, creation of the Governing Council, appointment of effective ministers to run Iraqi ministries, and continuing transfer of political authority to Iraqis — are part of our planning for post-Saddam Iraq.

We are on the offensive in Iraq. While those who traffic in evil work murder innocents, Coalition and Iraqi forces are adapting to defeat the enemy and will prevail.

Yesterday in London, President Bush and Prime Minister Blair reaffirmed our long-term commitment to Iraq. I quote from their joint statement:

"The United States and the United Kingdom stand ready to support the Transitional Administration in its task of building a new Iraq and its democratic institutions. Our military participation in the multinational force in Iraq will serve the Iraqi people until the Iraqis themselves are able to discharge full responsibility for their own security. At the same time, we hope that international partners will increasingly participate in the multinational force."

The continued support of the international community in reconstruction efforts is also critical. Last month, the international community came together

when the Security Council adopted resolution 1511 (2003) and pledged over \$33 billion in support to Iraq at the Madrid donors' conference. I would like to take this opportunity to thank the Spanish Government for its leadership in hosting the donors' conference, which included representatives from 73 countries and 20 international organizations. Much more, of course, remains to be done and additional contributions from all assembled here are very much encouraged.

As President Bush and Prime Minister Blair have stressed many times, the United Nations has a vital role to play in Iraq. We would welcome the return of United Nations international personnel to Iraq to carry out the mandate called for in resolutions 1483 (2003) and 1511 (2003). We stand ready to discuss with United Nations officials appropriate security support, as envisioned under resolution 1511 (2003).

Security and stability underpin all other efforts on the ground, and creating these conditions constitutes one of the main priorities for the Coalition Provisional Authority in its work with the Iraqi people. Despite the killings, bombings and other attacks we witness in the media, much of Iraq is calm and our strategy of enabling Iraqis to assume responsibility speedily for their own security is achieving success. The reality that cannot be captured by a television camera is that Iraqis are coming together to expand conditions of security and stability, adding more than 130,000 personnel to the security effort. They join 33 nations, alongside the United States and the United Kingdom, as part of the multinational force.

The number of Iraqis contributing to the security effort is rising steadily. Those Iraqis are actively engaged in operations to stabilize Iraq and to thwart the terrorists who are killing Iraqi civilians, aid workers and Coalition personnel alike. Iraqi security personnel also are being targeted; their courage, commitment to their country and hope for the future are demonstrated by their perseverance in the face of the casualties they have suffered.

The Iraqi Civil Defence Corps is developing capacity to foil saboteurs who target electrical infrastructure, the oil industry and other sectors critical to Iraq's renewal. The Civil Defence Corps has approximately 8,000 personnel on duty and that number will increase to more than 40,000 over the next several months. In addition, there is a facilities protection service to protect Iraq's strategic

infrastructure, Government buildings and cultural and educational assets. The protection service currently has more than 48,000 guards hired and trained, with a desired strength of roughly 50,000 personnel.

Major progress is also being made with respect to the Iraqi police force. Over 60,000 police officers are back on the streets. Looking ahead, 35,000 new Iraqi police recruits will be trained over the next two years in Jordan. We are currently improving the physical facilities at that training site to accommodate up to 3,000 students and 1,000 international trainers and support staff. The first class will begin next week with 500 students. The United Kingdom, Canada, Poland, the Czech Republic, Austria, Slovakia, Slovenia and Finland are planning to contribute police trainers for the Jordan facility. Other countries, including our Council colleague Germany, for example, have indicated an interest in participating in the training process. Following graduation from the eight-week basic course, Iraqi police recruits will participate in a ten-month field training programme at home, led by as many as 1,500 international police advisers. The United States plans to provide up to 1,000 of these advisers, with the first 150 to be deployed in January.

Establishing border security — with Iraqi border posts capable of interdicting the flow of proliferation-sensitive materials, radioactive sources that could be used to create dirty bombs, contraband, terrorists and foreign fighters — is an obvious security priority. Over 12,000 Iraqi border personnel are now on duty and Iraq's border police and customs service will steadily grow to more than 25,000.

As it resumes full control of its affairs, Iraq, like all nations, will need a military for self-defence. On October 4, nearly 700 Iraqi troops graduated from basic training to form the first battalion of the new Iraqi army. By the fall of 2004, the Iraqi army will have expanded to about 35,000 troops.

But force and recruit numbers, although they are headed in the right direction, are only part of the story. The international community has the opportunity and, indeed, the obligation to help the Iraqi people build highly competent organizations that are dedicated to public service and that maintain both high standards of professionalism and respect for human rights. Only through the creation of such an environment can the Iraqi people have public confidence and develop and enjoy a sound economy.

Notwithstanding the considerable efforts I have just described, we must acknowledge that security conditions in Iraq remain a major preoccupation for us, for the international community and for the Iraqi people, and that there remains a need to deliver a sustainable, improved security situation, particularly in the centre of the country. None of us wants a repeat of the terrible events we witnessed through late summer into the fall and which we recognize to have impacted on the international community's civilian presence in Iraq. The aim of the persisting efforts to improve security as I have described, as well as of our efforts to improve basic services and empower the Iraqi people, is to yield the increased stability and security that we all want. We are determined that those efforts shall succeed.

Since I already discussed in detail the national political developments currently taking place in Iraq, I would now like to focus for a moment on political developments at the local level. Iraq's democratic transition is dependant on the vitality and effectiveness of Iraqi institutions at the local level, where most of the decisions affecting individuals are made. Local Government provides the foundation for democracy and promotes social stability by allowing citizens a say in how their Government operates.

Day-to-day operation of the Iraqi Government is now in the hands of Iraqis. Across the country, neighbourhood, district and provincial councils represent the needs and opinions of their constituents to the Iraqi Governing Council. These institutions are taking responsibility for the delivery of essential services and fostering citizen participation in decision-making. There are municipal councils in all major cities and most towns, and provisional governorate councils have been formed across the country. Two hundred neighbourhood advisory councils help provide services such as water, education, public sanitation, health and electricity. More and more councils are budgeting and managing their own resources. For example, in each of Baghdad's 88 neighbourhoods, citizens have freely selected representatives for local governing councils. They, in turn, choose members of nine district councils and a 37-member city council.

Overall, more than 800 democratically selected council members are now hard at work serving their fellow citizens. They include Sunnis, Shias and Christians, Arabs and Kurds — and more than 75 women. Over the coming months, the Coalition will

continue to work with the Governing Council to promote diverse and representative citizen participation within, and among, communities throughout Iraq. Our focus will be on increasing financial transparency and accountability and on strengthening the capacity of local administrations to provide essential municipal services.

The head of the Office of the Iraq Programme, Mr. Benon Sevan, gave a lengthy briefing earlier this week on the phase-out of the oil-for-food programme and yesterday Secretary-General Annan also addressed the issue. I would like to commend Mr. Sevan, the Office of the Iraq Programme and the United Nations agencies that have worked in Iraq under difficult circumstances for their role in providing for the humanitarian needs of the Iraqi people.

Before I conclude and turn the discussion over to Ambassador Jones Parry, I would like to address the disarmament of Iraq. On 16 June, the Iraqi Survey Group assumed responsibility for the mission of searching for and eliminating Iraqi weapons of mass destruction, prohibited missile-delivery systems and related infrastructure. Led by former International Atomic Energy Agency inspector David Kay and United States Army Major-General Keith Dayton, the Survey Group is comprised of military and civilian personnel. The Group includes Coalition personnel from the United States, the United Kingdom and Australia, as well as experts from the former United Nations Special Commission on Iraq — UNSCOM — with direct experience on the ground in Iraq.

The Survey Group is comprised of two task forces — one for exploitation, led by the United States Defense Intelligence Agency, and another for disablement and elimination, led by the United States Defense Threat Reduction Agency. The Survey Group has consolidated the weapons-of-mass-destruction-related efforts of the various intelligence-collection operations currently in Iraq under one national-level headquarters, in order to better exploit developing intelligence. Using quick-reaction teams, the Survey Group has been investigating suspect sites based on leads derived from debriefings, interrogations and tips by Iraqi civilians. The Group is systematically reviewing existing sites already identified by intelligence.

In October an interim report on the activities of the Iraq Survey Group to date detailed numerous

violations by Iraq of its mandated obligations under Security Council resolutions. Those included deliberate efforts to conceal equipment and programme activities related to weapons of mass destruction from the United Nations during the inspections beginning late in 2002, clandestine laboratories and safe houses within the security service apparatus that contained equipment subject to United Nations monitoring and suitable for continuing chemical and biological warfare research, and plans and advanced design work for new long-range missiles with ranges up to at least 1,000 kilometres, well beyond the 150-kilometer range limit imposed by the United Nations. A large body of information, developed through debriefings, site visits and exploitation of captured Iraqi documents, confirms that Iraq deliberately concealed equipment and materials from United Nations inspectors when they returned in 2002. This is a large undertaking that will continue to require significant time and resources.

I would like to say a final word in conclusion. Iraqis have a long and proud history. We look forward to continued progress on all fronts as the people of Iraq work to build a new, stable and secure country.

The President: I thank Mr. Negroponte for his comprehensive briefing.

Sir Emyr Jones Parry (United Kingdom): Continuing where Ambassador Negroponte left off, I would now like to brief the Council on the main points relating to the provision of basic services, economic and reconstruction issues and human rights and justice. I will circulate separately a note that sets out the details. I will therefore confine myself to the headlines.

Following the fall of the Saddam regime, the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) has worked to ensure the rapid restoration of distribution networks and basic services. By August, food distribution systems were fully restored and the CPA's efforts — in partnership with Iraqis and humanitarian organizations — focused on increasing water supply, electricity generation and oil production.

With regard to water and sanitation, projects across the country are providing more and cleaner water to over 14.5 million Iraqis. In Baghdad over 1,700 critical breaks in the water networks have been repaired, 90 waste-pumping stations have been rehabilitated and city-wide rubbish collection has begun. Work is also under way outside Baghdad.

With regard to electricity, work to improve power generation has lead to a peak in supply of over 4,400 megawatts, above the pre-conflict level. The goal is to reach an output of 6,000 megawatts by the summer of 2004, and 9,000 megawatts — which is 2,000 megawatts in excess of estimated demand — during the spring of 2005.

With regard to fuel, there has been a steady upturn in the quantities of oil produced and exported from Iraq, rising most recently to some 2.2 million barrels per day, of which about 1.3 million were exported.

In the transport sector, Baghdad International Airport is being repaired and refurbished as part of a \$17.5 million contract. The port of Umm Qasr is functioning at a much higher capacity than it had for many years, with its grain-receiving facility completely renovated. Work has also taken place on some critical road and rail infrastructure.

With regard to communications, work is under way to restore damaged switches and to rebuild Iraq's fibre-optic backbone, permitting inter-city calling and the operation of communications networks for major utilities. Three mobile phone networks are expected to be functioning by January. The goal is to increase the number of Internet connections from 4,500 under Saddam to 50,000 by January, with further increases thereafter.

In the health sector, which is a critical area, nearly all the 240 hospitals in Iraq are now functioning, and no longer is access to health care being used as a political tool. With the help of UNICEF, over 30 million vaccines have been procured and distributed by the Ministry of Health. An estimated 3 million Iraqi children under the age of 5 have been vaccinated, while over 100,000 pregnant women, nursing women and malnourished children have received supplementary high-protein food rations.

In the education sector, most schools had opened by the end of June, with nearly 5.5 million children taking exams in June and July. The Coalition, together with the good work of non-governmental organizations (NGOs), has rehabilitated 1,595 schools, with work on a further 200 ongoing — a programme employing more than 35,000 Iraqis. Iraq's higher education institutes have received 97,000 applications for the 2003-2004 academic year, an increase of more than 50 per cent

from previous year. All 22 universities have reopened, as have 43 technical schools.

Turning to economic management, the Minister of Finance announced details of Iraq's 2004 budget on 13 October. For the first time in many decades, Iraq's resources are being used to pay for the needs of the Iraqi people, rather than to finance war mongering, oppression and decadence. Details of the budget, as well as of the status of the Development Fund for Iraq, are transparently available on the Coalition Provisional Authority web site.

A new set of bank notes is replacing the two Iraqi currencies currently in circulation. The exchange, which involves handling more than 2,000 tonnes of new notes, began on 15 October and is proceeding well. The central bank of Iraq is now independent.

Unemployment remains a major challenge in Iraq. New public works have given jobs to many hundreds of thousands, while employment creation programmes have also been introduced. Nonetheless, high unemployment will only be sustainably reduced with the successful transition from a centralized State-dominated economy to a liberalized market-based economy. A credit facility for small- and medium-sized enterprises has been established to foster the growth of indigenous industry. Rules on foreign direct investment have been introduced to bring in new capital. And a new pro-trade tariff regime has been passed by the Governing Council.

These actions, carried out in close consultation with the international financial institutions, should help give both the Iraqi people and the international community new confidence in the public finances and economic management of Iraq.

Ambassador Negroponte mentioned how the international community has been coming together to assist Iraq's reconstruction, as clearly demonstrated at Madrid last month. The needs assessments produced by the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the United Nations Development Group and the \$33 billion pledged in response will significantly assist the creation of a prosperous, free and democratic Iraq.

To further help in building their country, it is crucial that Member States rapidly fulfil the obligation under resolution 1483 (2003) to transfer funds of the former regime to the Development Fund for Iraq. Many

Member States are holding considerable assets frozen since 1990. Those funds should not remain idle.

In addition, the international community will need to agree on a fair and sustainable solution to Iraq's external debt problems. The sooner that is done, the sooner Iraq can restore its creditworthiness and access to international capital markets to help finance reconstruction and development. The Paris Club has published an assessment of its members' claims on Iraq, while the International Monetary Fund has requested data from other official creditors. Creditors should now cooperate in order to speed a fair and sustainable solution to Iraq's debt problems.

I want to turn now to human rights, including gender, and the issue of justice. The extent to which human rights were disregarded by the previous regime is illustrated by estimates that as many as 300,000 people are buried in mass graves throughout the country. Investigation of those graves represents an extraordinarily difficult challenge which will take many years.

As part of creating a human rights culture in post-Saddam Iraq, the Coalition Provisional Authority has enacted legislation prohibiting torture and cruel, degrading or inhumane treatment; outlawing discrimination by those holding public office; and ensuring secure and humane prison conditions. The Coalition Provisional Authority and the United States and United Kingdom Governments are also facilitating efforts to strengthen civil society and human rights education — disseminating information and training and supporting the work of local non-governmental organizations.

The newly formed Ministry of Human Rights is a clear signal that there is no place for oppression. We believe that those responsible for atrocities committed in the past should now be brought before an Iraqi-led process. Supported by the Coalition Provisional Authority, a Governing Council committee is drafting the statute and rules of procedure for a special Iraqi tribunal.

On the issue of women, we are actively encouraging the broadest participation in the reconstruction of Iraq, in line with resolution 1325 (2000). We hope Iraqi leaders will view this as an important and crucial part of introducing democracy. The presence of at least three figures now on the Governing Council has given women a base from

which to work. However, much more needs to be done to ensure a sustained and powerful voice, especially in the Transitional National Assembly and the Interim National Government.

The restoration of law and order rests, in part, on the development of a fully functioning and effective justice system. A central criminal court of Iraq is now up and running, with jurisdiction over serious crimes committed since 19 March 2003. Separately, more than 600 Iraqi judges preside over some 500 Iraqi courts. Some 300 cases have already been tried. Supervision of Iraq's judicial system is carried out by the re-established Council of Judges, abolished by the previous regime in 1979. The penal code has been amended to include new rights: the right to counsel; the right against self-incrimination; the right to be informed of basic rights; and the absolute exclusion of evidence obtained through torture.

In conclusion, Iraq is a country which has just come out of several brutal decades. It is almost impossible to comprehend the depth of human suffering that has occurred and the damage done by Saddam. It will take decades for the country to come to terms with that suffering.

While this report has understandably focused on areas of progress, no one should underestimate the massive scale of the task ahead or how much more needs to be done. The needs assessments produced in the run-up to the Madrid Conference highlight the enormous challenges. The serious security situation — which we are tackling determinedly — continues to impact on our efforts. And action will also continue to be needed to tackle the legacy of years of underinvestment and misappropriated resources, the legacy of sanctions and the huge level of unemployment. We will need to continue to react and adjust to the inevitable problems and challenges that will arise on the ground.

But in spite of this, Iraq's potential is now immense. Already, working with the talented and creative people of Iraq as well as the United Nations and humanitarian organizations, we have begun to make a difference.

Most crucially of all, we now have a timetable for constitutional reform and elections that will see the country's future squarely where it belongs: in the hands of the Iraqi people. To succeed, they will need the continuing commitment and support of the

international community, as well as the assistance — as circumstances permit — of the United Nations. In that regard, the pledges at the Madrid Conference demonstrated the increasing international unity in providing Iraq with a new start. Recent terrible and desperate attacks, including those against the very organizations that are helping Iraq to rebuild, cannot be allowed to succeed.

The more we can do to make rebuilding Iraq a collective enterprise, the more quickly the Iraqi people will achieve the bright future which they deserve. The regeneration of a free and stable Iraq is in all our interests.

The President: As there is no list of speakers, I invite those Council members who wish to take the floor to indicate this to the Secretariat.

Mr. De La Sablière (France) (*spoke in French*): I would like to thank our colleagues from the United States and the United Kingdom for the briefings they have just given the Security Council, pursuant to resolution 1483 (2003).

I would like to make the following comments.

As my United States and United Kingdom colleagues have noted, significant progress has been made during this period. Some public services have been restored or are in the process of being restored. Most schools and hospitals have thus reopened and are functioning. The production and supply of electricity have for the most part been restored to levels comparable to pre-war levels. The dreaded humanitarian crisis has not taken place. Markets are well-stocked. The distribution of food aid has continued, particularly within the oil-for-food programme. The Madrid Conference brought about an encouraging mobilization for the reconstruction of Iraq.

After three decades of tyranny, more than 12 years of a sanctions regime unprecedented in its severity and three deadly wars, this progress was eagerly anticipated by the Iraqi people. This progress is necessary to restore confidence in the future. Together, we must see to it that this progress continues.

France pays tribute to the work of those, whether Iraqis or foreigners, and whether acting in a national capacity or working for United Nations agencies and programmes or non-governmental organizations, who have taken and continue to take an active part in this

progress, at times sacrificing their own lives. I cannot forget to mention here the considerable efforts also made by the member countries of the Coalition, under their responsibilities as occupying Powers.

Unfortunately, this progress, however positive and real, could be eclipsed by the continuation of violence that we have witnessed throughout this same period. Acts of violence and attacks continue unabated, and are becoming ever more deadly, now indiscriminately targeting the personnel of international organizations, non-governmental organizations, the Coalition force and, in particular, Iraqis themselves, who are the primary victims. Given these criminal, horrendous acts, the strongest possible condemnation and punishment are necessary. But that is not enough. Maintaining a state of occupation feeds the Iraqi people's resentment and growing frustration, which are exploited by extremists to extend their audience and to justify violence. That is why we, since the end of the conflict, have been advocating a rapid restoration of Iraqi sovereignty and the end of the occupation.

We therefore welcomed the new approach contained in the agreement signed in Baghdad on 15 November between the Governing Council and the Coalition Provisional Authority. The agreement indeed recognizes that the restoration of Iraqi sovereignty must be the first stage in the political transition, with the establishment of a fully responsible transitional Government. It is in this context that Iraqis will then, at their own pace, be able to define permanent constitutional arrangements and organize elections in order to freely choose their leaders.

We cannot waste this opportunity; it could be our last. We must therefore see to it that this new approach indeed makes it possible to effectively curb the violence and to establish on a solid basis the political recovery and economic reconstruction of Iraq. To achieve this, we need to see to it that the implementation of the Baghdad agreement does not create new divisions, but brings people together. It is a matter of urgency to rebuild a consensus, not only in Iraq at the regional level, but also within the international community.

In order to attain this three-fold objective, we believe that several elements are crucial.

First, there needs to be an immediate expansion of the social and political basis of the political process.

All Iraqis that oppose violence or who agree to give up violence must be involved in this process, including those who thus far have been excluded or have excluded themselves from the process. Every Iraqi should be able to identify with the institutions that will be established.

It is also essential to involve and to hold accountable all of the States of the region, without exception, to enable Iraq to become once again part of its regional environment. It is essential also that the United Nations be allowed, with full independence, to lend its legitimacy and its support to see the transition in Iraq through each of its stages.

We understand the concerns expressed by the Secretary-General regarding the security of his staff. That is why we proposed that, initially, a special envoy of the United Nations Secretary-General be appointed. While not residing permanently in Iraq, that envoy could, at the outset, help to engage Iraqis and countries in the region in the transition process, which would thus reinforce its legitimacy. We hope that the representative that the Secretary-General will appoint in the near future will be able to perform this essential task.

The idea of a national conference under United Nations auspices that would bring together all of the Iraqi sensitivities and all of the Iraqi groups, to which countries of the region should be invited along with others, was mentioned. This idea deserves careful consideration. It could be discussed with the Iraqis.

Finally, the transfer of effective responsibilities to the Iraqis must go on without waiting for the June 2004 deadline, as spelled out in paragraph 6 of resolution 1511 (2003). It is essential that the provisional Government to be established by that date will be able then to exercise full sovereign power over Iraq.

So we welcome the approach adopted by the Baghdad agreement, but it is actually the conditions of its implementation that will determine its success. The change of approach should not be confined to reversing the sequencing of the political transition. It should also be translated into an effort to involve the greatest number of people participating, within and outside Iraq. This effort should be reflected by the Security Council if it were to be prompted to address this new approach contained in the Baghdad agreement.

Mr. Pleuger (Germany): First of all, I would like to thank our colleagues from the United States and the United Kingdom for the update on the implementation of Security Council resolution 1483 (2003), in particular for their assessment of the security conditions and the progress reported in the humanitarian and economic sectors, as well as for their report on the political developments.

As regards the political developments, we take note of the recent conclusion of the agreement on the political process by the Governing Council and the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA). We are encouraged by the decision to introduce a timetable for the transfer of sovereignty to a transitional Iraqi Government and for the reversal of the sequence of the political process. We believe it is an important step forward.

Of course, this plan needs to be evaluated against the background of evolving security conditions. It also needs to be clarified in certain aspects, and it deserves a thorough evaluation. We will also have to examine how the legitimacy of this process of transferring sovereignty can be strengthened. It is important to ask how to create the necessary momentum for the reversed political sequence in order to contribute to a stabilization of the security situation in the country. Therefore, we think that putting the agreement between Mr. Bremer and the Governing Council in a wider international context would help to send the necessary signal to the Iraqis. That signal should be that the process has indeed fundamentally changed.

If we look at the three problems we now face in Iraq — security, reconstruction and the political process — it is obvious, I think, that at present the security and reconstruction business must be dealt with primarily by the CPA. The CPA has a leading role here for the foreseeable future.

On the other hand, of course, security and reconstruction are linked to the political process, and that process should provide the signal necessary to facilitate security and reconstruction in the country. I believe that when we discussed resolution 1511 (2003), the creation of such a political signal was the main gist of the French-German amendment. The change of strategy, as it appears in the agreement between Mr. Bremer and the Governing Council, reflects to a certain extent what we have said in this discussion.

I feel that, in the political process, there are four important elements we should look at. First, we think that a strong United Nations role is imperative to provide the necessary legitimacy to the process until we have an Iraqi Government that has been legitimized by democratic elections. Secondly, I believe we must consider broadening the basis of the political process in order to include all political and societal forces in Iraq that are willing to cooperate in a peaceful manner and to reject violence and terrorism. The third important element is to define and consider the role of the neighbours, because if want to successfully stabilize Iraq politically, economically and in terms of security, we must ensure that Iraq is reintegrated into the region as a new and democratic State. The fourth element is that we should consider convening an international conference — which has already been proposed — that rallies the Iraqis, the neighbours and others in a common effort to stabilize the political and economic process. We have done so quite successfully in another case — Afghanistan. Why should we not repeat that model if it can help to stabilize and advance the process that is now going to begin?

In conclusion, I should like to say that, in the face of growing violence and terrorism — not just in Iraq, but also in other countries, as the past few days have so cruelly demonstrated — it is imperative to create an international order based on cooperation and inclusiveness, with the United Nations as its centre. I think that that is the way to a stable Iraq and the way to return sovereignty to the Iraqi people.

Mr. Muñoz (Chile) (*spoke in Spanish*): I thank the Ambassadors of the United States and the United Kingdom for their briefings on the situation in Iraq, pursuant to paragraph 24 of resolution 1483 (2003).

The evolution of the situation in Iraq undoubtedly arouses the attention of world opinion, and since the last report received by the Council, we have seen the violent action of partisan elements of the old regime seeking to oppose the changes. Clearly, the task of building democratic institutions in a country that has been governed by despotism is not easy, owing to the resistance of sectors that have lost privileges. In addition, the task of building and achieving peace is always more difficult than that of removing a dictatorial regime.

The actions of the extremists — as we have all been able to see — are directed not only against the

Coalition forces, but also against the United Nations and other international organs. The premeditated attack on the central offices of the United Nations on 19 August and the attack against the headquarters of the International Committee of the Red Cross are unequivocal demonstrations of an attempt to isolate the population from the help and influence of the international community. We are convinced that those who perpetrate such criminal attacks are no more than minority groups that cannot represent the feelings of the overwhelming majority of Iraq's population, which, we believe, wishes to have a freer, more democratic and more prosperous society and to live in peace.

Given the prevailing security situation, the Secretary-General has deemed it necessary to temporarily withdraw all international personnel from Baghdad. We regret that decision, but we understand and respect it, for the very reasons for which he adopted it. We know that the work of the United Nations is still being done by local personnel, but we hope that the security situation will enable the Organization to resume its role under resolutions 1483 (2003) and 1511 (2003) as soon as possible. We are aware of the Secretary-General's willingness in that regard.

We wish to join the international expression of grief at the deaths due to the terrorist attacks that occurred in recent days in Baghdad and Nasiriah, including today's attacks against hotels and other facilities in Baghdad. It seems that the world is facing the risk of terrorism as never before, and the international community — and some countries in particular — have had a rude awakening to this reality of a threat that knows no borders.

Terrorism uses its support networks on the basis of a globalized system to transfer people, funds and weapons in order to perpetrate terrorist attacks, not only in Iraq, but in many places around the world, as we see daily in the news media. This new global terrorism can be fought only through joint and organized action by the international community, particularly this Organization. So we have before us the challenge of strengthening the measures that the Security Council has taken with regard to the scourge of terrorism.

As part of the international community's global response to terrorism, I believe we must not forget poverty, injustice and the day-to-day misery

experienced by millions of human beings. Those things — together with a lack of hope — provide a breeding ground for the recruitment of extremists.

We noted with interest the announcement, on 15 November, of a plan to transfer sovereignty to the Iraqi people in the coming months, in keeping with the provisions of resolution 1511 (2003). This should include the transference of responsibility for the building of new national institutions in Iraq, within a democratic framework of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, as well as respect for minorities and the broad participation of all democratic sectors, including women.

We are grateful to the United States for the information regarding the announcement by the Governing Council of Iraq about the new institutional arrangements, which anticipate, for the beginning of 2004, the adoption of a framework law that includes procedures for the formation, by mid-2004, of a transitional national assembly made up of people elected by the various provincial councils.

The appointment of a national assembly and a provisional government with sovereign powers will be a decisive step in the devolution of sovereignty — a step for which the Security Council has called. We hope that that process will be completed in 2005, with the election, on the basis of universal suffrage, of a constitutional assembly charged with the task of drafting a new constitution, as a result of which — subject to approval by referendum — an election will be held to choose, for the first time in Iraq's history, a new freely-elected democratic government.

We hope that those arrangements will be formalized to an even greater extent than as was set out in the presentation given by the Governing Council of Iraq to the Security Council. We are, of course, concerned that all of these steps are threatened by the security situation today and, in all probability, for the foreseeable future. However, we are facing an important, decisive step towards the building of a new, more stable, democratic and independent Iraq that is at peace with itself and its neighbours, assisted by the strong and sustained support of the international community in political, human and financial terms, as demonstrated at Madrid.

In conclusion, I would like to say that Chile is ready to cooperate by providing assistance in terms of agricultural development and food for school-age

children, as well as with regard to other humanitarian needs that we have identified, with the aim of contributing in some measure to the goal of restoring sovereignty to the Iraqi people and helping to build the basic institutions of a democratic State.

Mr. Wang Guangya (China) (*spoke in Chinese*):

The Chinese delegation would like to thank the ambassadors of the United States and of the United Kingdom for their briefings. We have taken note of the efforts of the Coalition Provisional Authority with regard to the implementation of Security Council resolution 1483 (2003). Since the Security Council adopted resolution 1511 (2003), there have been several new developments in the Iraqi situation. I would like to make several comments in this connection.

First, we have taken note of the announcement of 15 November regarding the agreement reached between the Governing Council and the Coalition Provisional Authority. We welcome that agreement, according to which a transitional administration will be established by next June and — before the end of 2004 — the constitutional process and the election of a new Government will be completed. We hope that that will truly contribute to the restoration of full sovereignty to Iraq. We expect the Governing Council, in compliance with the provisions of resolution 1511 (2003), to submit to the Security Council by 15 December, a timetable for the constitutional process and general elections.

Secondly, we have always advocated that a leading role be played by the United Nations in the reconstruction of Iraq. We have also taken note of the aspirations of the Governing Council in that regard. We hope that, when circumstances permit, the United Nations will be able to play, at an early date, a substantive role in the political process in Iraq and in the economic reconstruction of the country. That will be of great significance for the prompt restoration of stability in Iraq.

Thirdly, we are deeply concerned about the failure to improve the security situation in Iraq. We hope that the Coalition Provisional Authority will take further effective measures promptly to improve the security situation there so that an environment conducive to the reconstruction of the country can be created.

Mr. Lavrov (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): We, too, would like to thank Ambassador Negroponte and Ambassador Jones Parry for their briefings. We note that the coalition, together with the Iraqis, are making an active effort to establish normal conditions in the country and to restore the economy and infrastructure. We note that the United States and the United Kingdom have played an important role, together with all other members of the Security Council, in providing for the normal completion of the oil-for-food programme, and have reaffirmed the obligation of the coalition to resolve all outstanding issues.

We also note with satisfaction that the International Advisory and Monitoring Board has finally been established, and we hope that reports from that body will soon be received. It is a key mechanism, set up pursuant to resolution 1483 (2003), to provide for transparency with regard to the Iraqi economy. We also note the efforts to create an Iraqi army, security force, police force and border service. Ambassador Negroponte spoke about that issue in detail. We hope that that work will be quick and effective.

The briefing also noted, however — and we are all aware of this — that the security situation in Iraq remains serious. According to our assessment, it is continuing to worsen. Of course, we condemn all terrorist acts. Whatever the target of such acts, innocent people suffer. Such acts must be condemned and counteracted. We do not have any information about how specific operations are being carried out against those who plan and perpetrate terrorist acts, but we believe that any use of force should, of course, be proportional; every attempt must be made to prevent the suffering of innocent civilians.

We are grateful to Ambassador Negroponte for having mentioned disarmament in his briefing. However, quite frankly, we do not understand why the United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC) and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) have not endeavoured to obtain more information about the efforts undertaken by the coalition. As we heard, a report was prepared in October by a missing persons survey group set up by the coalition. We do not see why that report could not be transmitted to UNMOVIC and IAEA experts, particularly since we will be receiving a regular report from UNMOVIC very soon.

We did not hear anything in the briefing about persons missing since the first Gulf war, and the theme of Kuwaiti property was not touched on either. But we hope that those questions will be discussed in December, when the regular report of the Secretary-General is submitted to the Security Council — although we are, of course, interested to find out more about what the coalition is doing with respect to these matters and what the results have been.

Like previous speakers, we take note of the agreement that was reached between the coalition and the Iraqi Governing Council. We welcome the desire to give the political process a new dynamism, and Russia has consistently advocated the speeding up of the process of the restoration of Iraq's sovereignty. We do not know why the agreement has still not been transmitted officially to the Security Council. As we understand it, there are two parties to the agreement — the Iraqi Governing Council and the coalition — and either or both of them could transmit the agreement to the Security Council for its information, particularly since reporting to the Council is an obligation on the part of the coalition and of the Governing Council.

Nevertheless, we are, of course, familiar with the text of the agreement. We are somewhat disappointed that there is no mention in it of the United Nations. We believe that that is wrong, for, in order successfully to resolve the Iraqi problem, we need first and foremost the trust of the Iraqi people, and secondly the active participation of the international community. That is our conviction, and all of the events of recent months only corroborate our view.

Like the representatives of France and of Germany, we believe that very serious consideration should be given to the idea of convening an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations in which all the main political forces of Iraq would participate, as well as external players, including Iraq's neighbours and other countries. We believe that this idea should be discussed, and we also consider that, in order to hold a conference as part of this process, a consensus must be reached about how it should be organized.

Given the fact that the security situation in Iraq is getting worse and that attacks are taking place against representatives of international organizations and of new Iraqi structures, we are not ruling out the possibility of that conference's being held outside of

Iraq — again in the context of the analogy of Afghanistan, as mentioned by Ambassador Pleuger.

The conference could form the transitional Government of Iraq, which together with the Secretary-General and his representatives, could elaborate specific steps in order effectively to implement the political process.

We would like also to ask some questions about the text of the agreement, since we think that it is important. We believe that that members of the coalition and of the Iraqi Governing Council, as well as the United Nations Secretariat, should take these questions into account.

We believe that the timelines for the adoption of the fundamental law by 28 February, for the creation of the Transitional National Assembly by 31 May, and, subsequently, for the formation, by 30 June, of the transitional administration are realistic and are justified. However, with regard to subsequent steps, the timelines do represent a bit of a stretch — for example, the election for the constitutional convention is scheduled to be held only on 15 March 2005, and general elections by the end of 2005.

We believe that it would be better if the date of the election for the constitutional convention, and the date of the general elections — that is, elections for the permanent Government — were decided on by the Transitional Government and by the Transitional National Assembly. They will be functioning by 30 June, and it is possible that they will have a clearer idea about when, realistically, they should hold the appropriate elections.

We also believe that there are certain contradictions between parts of the agreement with respect to the proposal to form organizational committees that could affect future elections — that is, the election of members of the National Assembly.

In the beginning of the agreement, it is stated that the Iraqi Interim Governing Council will not play any formal role in selecting members of the National Assembly. But two lines down, it is stated that the Iraqi Governing Council will nominate five of the representatives of each provincial organizational committee.

Therefore it will be playing a role in that respect — not a formal role, but a very real one. Would this not, therefore, lead to a situation in which certain

segments of the population and certain political forces are left out of the process of the formation of these new authorities?

My next question has to do with the provision stating that there is a proposal to conclude, by the end of March 2004, an agreement on security between the coalition and the Governing Council, including an agreement on the status of the coalition forces. We had thought that the status of the coalition forces had been determined in resolution 1483 (2003) and that their mandate had been clarified further in resolution 1511 (2003). So, quite frankly, we are not clear about the new status that is being referred to here.

If this proposed agreement on status is going to be elaborated for the period after 30 June, then perhaps it would be logical to conclude this kind of agreement with the Transitional Government when it is formed, not with the Governing Council, whose authority expires on 30 June.

I should like to ask how you plan to provide for the political presence of countries of the coalition in Iraq after 30 June, after the Coalition Provisional Authority ceases to function. Do you think that the countries in the Coalition will be present in Iraq through their usual embassies, or do you plan to create different sorts of structures for their presence in Iraq? We do not expect immediate answers to these questions. We understand that the situation is still evolving, but we thought it useful to ask those questions, since it is clear that we still have a lot of work to do.

We hope that the role of the United Nations in this process will not be underestimated. It is clear to us that the Iraq problem can be resolved, not so much by adopting new resolutions, but through a radical change of strategy by the international community in that country. We mean that there is a need to involve as many Iraqis with authority as possible in the settlement process, to use the potential of neighbouring countries and to give the United Nations a real chance, not only in words but in actual fact, to have a part in resolving the problem of Iraq. We welcome the fact that the Secretary-General has prepared serious new proposals to increase the work of the United Nations in order to find the best possible solution to the Iraqi crisis. We eagerly await his initiatives.

We hope that today's discussion will be useful and that the views in the Security Council will be taken

into account in the work of the Coalition and that they will also be transmitted to the Iraqis for their information, including to the members of the Governing Council of Iraq. We know there has been a public appeal for the United Nations to participate directly in implementing these very stages of the political process.

Ms. Menéndez (Spain) (*spoke in Spanish*): We are grateful to the delegations of the United States and the United Kingdom for the report they have just given Council members, pursuant to Council resolution 1483 (2003).

We express our satisfaction with the fact that the presentation of this report has taken place in an open meeting of the Council, since maintaining the security of Iraq and the activities carried out for its political and economic reconstruction are matters incumbent upon the entire international community. Both delegations have given us broad presentations that are extremely useful for a close-up and in-depth view of the present situation faced by the Iraqi people.

Iraq still bears the traces left by three decades of dictatorship that we must not forget: the disappearances, torture and general disregard of human rights. Today we have heard the chilling figure of an estimated 300,000 people in mass graves. Such figures should remain in our memory so that situations of this kind will not be repeated in the future. However, and in contrast, today many of the Iraqi people are experiencing better living conditions than during the regime of Saddam Hussein.

We cannot ignore the fact that Iraq is facing great problems and challenges. Unfortunately, we are now witnessing a proliferation of brutal terrorist actions. These are irrational acts that indiscriminately leave behind victims among the personnel whose mission is to help the Iraqi people and among the Iraqi population as a whole. The only purpose of terrorism in this case is to prevent Iraq from joining the prosperous and democratic nations of the international community. In the final analysis, this is terrorism that seeks to relegate the Iraqi people to obscurity and marginalization. However, the international community will not cease to resolutely help the Iraqi people to prevent that from happening.

I wish to briefly refer to the three main areas that shape Iraq today. First, concerning the economic sphere, we should stress that we are all, in one way or

another, contributing to the reconstruction of Iraq, using, to that end, the mechanisms of bilateral cooperation as well as the United Nations agencies which are also doing admirable work. That is a joint effort, as we were able to see at the Madrid conference as well as from the situation on the ground.

As we have heard today, within a short period of time important advances have been made in the supply of water, communications, transport and energy. But we have also been given one fact we find especially significant and indicative of the effort that is taking place: the fact that the budget for 2004 can now be seen on an Internet web page. That is something that would have been unthinkable a few months ago and that expresses the desire for transparency on the part of the Governing Council of Iraq and the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA).

Secondly, in the political sphere we have received information which confirms that the agreement of 15 November has brought about a positive change in the situation in general. Spain welcomes this agreement with satisfaction, because we have always maintained that the responsibilities of government should be transferred to an Iraqi administration as soon as circumstances allow. With this agreement, the Iraqi political process begins to follow the path laid down by resolution 1511 (2003), co-sponsored by Spain, that will lead to the drafting of a fundamental law setting up the legal guidelines for a process of political transition that will, initially, lead to the establishment of a transitional national assembly and the election by that assembly of a provisional Government, to be recognized by the Coalition before 30 June 2004.

In the process of political normalization in Iraq, my Government attaches special importance to the reform of the judicial system, whose independence and proper functioning constitute the keystone of democratic nations.

Furthermore, and again in the political arena, we especially welcome the proposal to establish a high commission for women.

Finally, concerning the security situation in Iraq, my delegation heard with special satisfaction, of the effort that the CPA is making to transfer the responsibility for security to Iraq, which effort includes rebuilding the Iraqi police and army. We have heard that there are now more than 60,000 policemen in the

streets, and by the end of 2004 there will be 35,000 military troops

It is clear that the security situation is not as good as we would have wished, and the news media frequently convey to us images and events that are a source of concern. However, it is also true that in today's Iraq there are many areas of peace and progress, and for that reason we hope that United Nations personnel will return so that the Organization can continue playing the vital role conferred on it by the resolutions adopted unanimously by the Council. My Government is convinced that all of those activities will redound to the benefit of the Iraqi people and to the formation of a free, prosperous and peaceful Iraq.

Mr. Raychev (Bulgaria): As others have done, I would like first of all to thank the delegations of the United States and of the United Kingdom for their comprehensive briefings on the situation in Iraq.

We commend the tireless efforts of the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) in pursuing its commitment to establish a free, democratic and stable Iraq under the difficult circumstances on the ground caused by acts of terror, violence and intimidation. And we note with satisfaction the active cooperation among the CPA, United Nations agencies and the Governing Council of Iraq, as called for in the relevant Security Council resolutions.

The 15 November announcement by the Iraqi Governing Council of a political process to establish a representative transitional national assembly to assume full sovereignty in 2004 marks a new stage in the gradual, speedy and orderly transfer of authority to the Iraqi people. The new transitional Iraqi administration will take over the full responsibility of governing by the end of June 2004. The Iraqi Governing Council sets a feasible timetable for the electoral and constitutional process, as called for in Security Council resolution 1511 (2003). It deserves the utmost attention of the Security Council and other relevant United Nations bodies that can facilitate its implementation. Those important new developments, in our view, should be welcomed and supported by the international community. They ensure that the day when full sovereignty will be restored to Iraq will come soon.

We appreciate the efforts of the Coalition Provisional Authority to transfer to the Iraqis increased responsibility for their own security and governance

and to strengthen the administrative capacity of the representative local and national institutions.

Progress on all tracks in Iraq is clearly tied to the security situation. Security is also a key prerequisite for the resumption of the United Nations presence in the country. Therefore, in our view, the international community should double its efforts to provide the necessary assistance to ensure stability and security in Iraq under the provisions of resolution 1511 (2003) and other Security Council resolutions. Coupled with the new dynamic envisaged for the political process, increased international assistance can help to isolate the terrorists, reverse the current security trend and, finally, improve stability on the ground.

The violence and terror perpetrated by the same forces of the past that oppressed the Iraqi people for decades should not divert the international community from its strong commitment to help the people of Iraq to live in peace and democracy. I would like to reiterate that my country is fully committed to continue its support for efforts to improve the security and stability situation in Iraq. The decision to offer support for the police training programme, announced during the donors conference in Madrid by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Bulgaria, is another example of that commitment.

Security Council resolutions provide for a vital role for the United Nations in Iraq. Facing the degradation of the security situation, the United Nations adopted a new approach, enhancing the role of its local staff in Iraq and the coordination and the management of its activities from a distance. We hope that the international personnel have been only temporarily relocated outside Iraq and that the United Nations will resume its presence in that country as soon as possible for the benefit of the Iraqi people.

United Nations agencies have a unique expertise and performance record in mobilizing civil society and in drafting constitutional and electoral legislation. In accordance with the provisions of the relevant resolutions, the Iraqi Governing Council could draw on that expertise and experience.

We welcome the forthcoming appointment of a new special representative of the Secretary-General for Iraq, and we will never forget the crucial contribution of the late Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Sergio Vieira de Mello, in the formation of the Iraqi Interim Authority.

Finally, touching on the humanitarian situation, I would like to commend the efforts of the Authority with regard to normalizing the situation with regard to transport, electricity and water supply. The progress achieved with regard to the strengthening of civil society and human rights education and the fully functioning justice system is also commendable. At the same time, with a view to healing the humanitarian situation, the United Nations Development Group remains, in our opinion, best prepared to act and deliver aid in cooperation with the CPA. We commend the consistency and continuity in managing the relevant humanitarian programmes on the ground, including the CPA's decision to re-employ the former local staff of the oil-for-food programme in the activities supervised by the Development Fund for Iraq.

Mr. Mekdad (Syrian Arab Republic) (*spoke in Arabic*): We have listened carefully to the statements by the representatives of the United States and the United Kingdom on the implementation of Security Council resolution 1483 (2003). We have also listened carefully to the colleagues who have preceded me in taking the floor.

Syria has clearly expressed its position vis-à-vis the Iraq problem before the Council on many occasions. More than once, we and other States members of the Security Council have suggested ways to overcome the tragic situation in Iraq. Syria is not merely a country that neighbours Iraq; since the dawn of time history, geography, destiny and common interests all have bound the peoples of our two brotherly countries together. In recent weeks, visits to Damascus by many representatives of the Iraqi people with various political affiliations — including a large number of the Iraqi Governing Council — show that relations between the two peoples and the two countries are very deeply entrenched.

In order to help our Iraqi brothers to overcome the daily hardships they face, tons of food supplies, as well as other items of humanitarian assistance, have been shipped to Iraq. In addition, the Syrian electricity grid has been connected to the Iraqi one in some places in order to help meet the basic daily needs of the Iraqi people.

On 1 and 2 November 2003, Damascus hosted an important meeting of foreign ministers of neighbouring countries, including the Foreign Ministers of Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Iran, Turkey, Kuwait and Syria, as well

as Egypt. In that meeting current developments in Iraq were discussed as well as their repercussions both regionally and internationally. In view of the importance of the outcome of the meeting, I would like to outline the major points agreed upon by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the neighbouring countries.

There is a need for Iraq's neighbours to show full solidarity with and sympathy towards Iraq in its current plight because of the grave deterioration in the security situation, as well as the general economic and living situation in the country. Any measure that may lead to a division of Iraq must be rejected, and Iraq's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity must be respected. We stress the right of Iraqis to determine their own political future and the importance of a strong, vital role for the United Nations in Iraq, particularly in supervising the constitutional and election processes and setting a timetable for the end of the occupation. There is the speeding up of the transfer of power to the Iraqis themselves, supporting the efforts of the Iraqi Governing Council in its transitional responsibilities towards the election of a representative Iraqi Government, and reasserting the responsibility of the Coalition authorities in accordance with relevant Security Council resolutions and international law. Terrorist bombings that target civilians and essential humanitarian institutions, international organizations and diplomatic missions are condemned, and the need to find the perpetrators and bring them to justice for their criminal acts is stressed. Finally, there is a call to competent Iraqi authorities to cooperate with neighbouring countries in order to eradicate the threat of terrorism and to avoid any infiltration through borders of neighbouring countries by terrorists.

We have considered the declaration by the Governing Council on the political processes to take place in the coming period in Iraq. In this regard, and along with other members of the Security Council, we await the Governing Council's presentation of a timeline and programme for drafting a new constitution and holding democratic elections in accordance with the terms of paragraph 7 of Security Council resolution 1511 (2003).

Syria believes that any plan to save Iraq from its current situation must involve all sectors of the Iraqi population with all various social and political affiliations. This would ensure the territorial integrity, sovereignty and political independence of Iraq. We

believe that it is necessary for the United Nations to have a major, effective and vital role in both political and humanitarian activities in Iraq.

We also stress the major role that neighbouring countries may undertake in attempting to solve the various problems now facing Iraq. In that regard, we need the expertise and capabilities of the United Nations as the only organization with such abilities and potentials.

Our brothers in Iraq are now undergoing a most difficult period in their history because of the prevailing chaos and the lack of a dignified life. Syria, a country that is tied to the people of Iraq by history and geography, cannot but be concerned at developments taking place in Iraq today. Proceeding from this, we believe that preserving the fundamental interests of the Iraqi people, ensuring a life of dignity for them and restoring the conditions for social and political stability in the country also serve Syria's interests.

We would therefore renew our appeal, which is accepted by most members of the Security Council, to work to put an end, as soon as possible, to the occupation of Iraq so as to maintain its territorial integrity and the unity of its people and to ensure the election of a national Government that fully and faithfully represents all segments of Iraqi society and that would lift the plight currently endured by the Iraqi people. We look forward to Iraq regaining its sovereignty and the role that befit its history, civilization and capabilities.

Mr. Pujalte (Mexico) (*spoke in Spanish*): Mexico takes note of the report presented by the ambassadors of the United States and the United Kingdom, representing the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA), concerning the situation in Iraq.

We are encouraged by the signature of the 15 November agreement between the CPA and the Governing Council to initiate a political process aimed at the election of a transitional national assembly to assume sovereignty of Iraq in 2004. We believe that there should be an international follow-up mechanism to strengthen legitimacy and give transparency to this process. Unquestionably, the fact that Iraqis are assuming control of their country will have a direct impact on pacification. Improving security conditions will enable not only the reactivation of normality in social and economic activities of the country, but also,

very importantly, will help bring about the return of personnel of the United Nations and non-governmental organizations, who will help supervise conditions for the Iraqi people.

With regard to disarmament, let me point out that non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction is important because of the threat they represent, but with equal determination, the international community should act in controlling small arms and light weapons, explosives and munitions. Unfortunately, as shown by the attacks in recent days, terrorism today uses explosives and small arms and light weapons. Despite that fact, there is no international legal instrument regulating illicit trafficking in small arms and light weapons, explosives and munitions.

Today, there is the technology and the ability to determine the origin of explosive materials. This Council could go from words to acts and adopt a resolution containing obligations with respect to the production, sale and brokerage of this kind of weapon. Such an act unquestionably would have an immediate and concrete impact in the fight against terrorism.

With regard to human rights, we believe that the grave violations that took place under the previous regime in Iraq should be investigated, and the various models of justice applied by transitional regimes to prevent crimes from going unpunished should be examined.

To conclude, I should like to pose two questions to the representatives of the CPA. First, is there coordination by the Authority with neighbouring countries? If so, could you give us information about that, about what kind of coordination is taking place with neighbouring countries? The second question is, does the Authority have criteria, or has it established criteria, to distinguish between terrorists, former members of the old regime, Iraqis resisting foreign presence, and ordinary criminals?

Mr. Tidjani (Cameroon) (*spoke in French*): First, I would like to thank you, Mr. President, for having organized this Council meeting pursuant to paragraph 24 of resolution 1483 (2003). Cameroon welcomes the decision of the United States and the United Kingdom to report to the Council on behalf of the Coalition that is provisionally co-administering Iraq. Their excellent briefings have drawn a candid and very complete picture of circumstances in Iraq with respect to the humanitarian situation, combating insecurity and

terrorism, reconstruction and, above all, the process of reappropriation by the Iraqis of the administrative, economic and political management of their country.

While we appreciate all the information we have just received, I wish to stress two or three points. My country particularly welcomes the acceleration of Iraq's reassumption of the management of its cities, towns and villages. The rapid and well-managed transfer of power to the Iraqis is today essential. The Iraqis are undoubtedly grateful to their liberators of 8 April, but they are a proud people that has inherited a civilization that is millennia old.

It is good that the Coalition, in its recent initiatives, has taken these decisive points into consideration. The accelerated political timetable is excellent news that the international community must approve and support. The orderly transfer of power is essential to a recognized, credible Iraqi authority with full responsibility for governing the country. Of course, beyond June 2004, the Iraqis will still need many kinds of assistance from friendly countries and their neighbours. Like others, I recognize the unprecedented effort of the United States in approving an \$87-billion spending package, \$20 billion of which are earmarked exclusively for the reconstruction of Iraq.

The security situation in Iraq is especially alarming today, requiring an imaginative and proactive collective response from the international community. We believe that the current international situation calls for alert but in-depth thinking on this issue, since the terrorist factor is now undeniably present. In any event, however, combating insecurity in Iraq must be primarily the responsibility of the Iraqis themselves. My delegation feels that the ongoing systematic reconstruction of an army and an effective republican police force is a good omen, even if more immediate tasks must be addressed first.

This meeting is being held on the very last day of the oil-for-food programme. We have discussed that fact at length all week, but I wish to endorse the Coalition's approach to assuming the work of the programme. The Coalition's activities will employ Iraqi personnel and structures that have proven effective in managing the humanitarian situation in Iraq, including Cotecna for the authentication of goods and the World Food Programme for distribution. We appreciate such pragmatism and reliance on the United Nations legacy.

In conclusion, I reiterate our full faith in the ability of the Iraqis to meet these challenges. They survived tyranny and in the future will certainly be able to overcome the insecurity posed by terrorism and, in particular, rapidly to meet the challenges of reconstruction and re-appropriation of their country. We support them in this Herculean endeavour and are grateful for the onerous burden assumed by the Coalition at the cost of great sacrifice, notably in human lives. We reiterate our sympathy to the countries that have been victims of attacks and to the bereaved families.

Mr. Khalid (Pakistan): First, we are grateful for the briefings given by the United States and United Kingdom Ambassadors. The briefings have helped us to broaden our understanding of the complexity of the situation as it exists in Iraq and the efforts being made by the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) to mitigate it.

At this stage, our comments will be preliminary. We will be able to comment more substantively on the ongoing developments after receiving the Governing Council's formal response to resolution 1511 (2003).

We have heard with interest the briefings today on the political process in Iraq. We share the concern that any new development in Iraq should lead to consensus-building and the healing of wounds. We have always advocated an approach whereby all developments on the political and security fronts should be supported and welcomed by Iraqis. The Iraqis should be allowed to control and steer such developments and there should be a broad-based agreement in the region and beyond on the implementation of the process currently under way.

We have noted various procedures to elect the Constitutional Convention and the Transitional National Assembly. The conclusion of the agreement between CPA and the Governing Council is indeed an important development with respect to these procedures. The Security Council is still awaiting a formal indication from the Governing Council, pursuant to its obligation under resolution 1511 (2003), of the procedure and time-line for the drafting of the constitution. The Council's continued engagement with the evolving situation and its views on the agreement will be important for the purposes of legitimacy.

We have also noted the provision for the drafting by the Governing Council, in close consultation with

CPA, of the fundamental law. It would be desirable for the law to be drafted by the Iraqi people as independently as possible, taking into account their national, cultural, ethnic and religious sensitivities.

The agreement on the political process speaks of the agreement with CPA on security. We would appreciate comments from CPA on bilateral agreements contemplated by the end of March 2004. The question is: What will be the status of these agreements? Will they expire with the end of CPA and the Governing Council?

Lastly, the involvement of the international community, through the United Nations, in supporting the reconstruction process in Iraq and assisting the Iraqi people to stabilize the situation in their country will remain critical. There is a need to create an enabling environment to allow the United Nations to play its due role in Iraq.

Mr. Sow (Guinea) (*spoke in French*): I would like to thank Ambassador John Negroponte of the United States of America and Ambassador Sir Emyr Jones Parry of the United Kingdom for their important briefings.

My delegation is pleased to welcome the progress made in the process of rebuilding Iraq, especially as regards the restoration of national and local institutions with a view to the establishment of a representative Government. We welcome the political agreement signed in Baghdad on 15 November between the Iraqi Governing Council and the Coalition Provisional Authority on the timetable for the gradual restoration of sovereignty to the Iraqi people. That timetable was called for in Security Council resolution 1511 (2003). My delegation hopes that the Council will soon receive an official communication regarding the timetable from the President of the Iraqi Governing Council so that we may hold a more in-depth discussion, examine the timetable's implications and eventually consider adapting the United Nations mission to the political, humanitarian and security situation.

In that regard, my country welcomes the political will expressed United States President Bush, which he echoed during his official visit to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland during his talks with his British counterpart, Mr. Tony Blair. That was a commitment to take appropriate measures leading to an improvement of security and stability in Iraq and the creation of conditions to enable the Iraqi people to

quickly determine their political future. We hope that that resolute commitment on the part of the principal leaders of the member countries of the Coalition Provisional Authority in Iraq will contribute to the establishment of a new framework for political and institutional devolution to the Iraqi people, in support of the peace, stability and harmonious development of the countries of the region as a whole. As Ambassador Negroponte emphasized, that offensive phase needs to be strengthened through the firm support of the international community and, in particular, through greater involvement by the Security Council.

In that regard, my delegation appreciates the vital role that the coalition continues to acknowledge exists for the United Nations in the political and economic recovery process and in the provision of humanitarian aid in Iraq. As described in the reports, it is of course essential to quickly carry out the timetable for political transfer and to give priority attention to strengthening security in the country. That would entail the widest possible mobilization by all the people of Iraq, as well as by the countries of the region and the neighbourhood, vis-à-vis the agreed programme contained in the timetable to ensure the transfer of sovereignty and responsibilities. We believe that a new political logic is taking root that is likely to contribute to further strengthening the work of the Governing Council, which is daily seeing its powers and responsibilities expand.

Finally, we await the report of the Secretary-General on the overall situation in Iraq that we hope will be issued in December. We hope that it will provide us with an overview of current developments. We also hope that the report will point out ways and means of ensuring the active participation of the United Nations in the implementation of the timetable for the transfer of power and resources to the Iraqi people.

The President: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of Angola.

I would like to thank Permanent Representatives Jones Parry and Negroponte, of the United Kingdom and the United States, respectively, for the wealth of information they have provided to the Council on the situation in Iraq and with regard to meeting the challenges faced in reaching the objectives set by the Coalition Provisional Authority to make Iraq a nation that is fully integrated into the international community.

I would like to highlight three points in my intervention. I would first like to refer to the concern that has been consistently expressed by the Security Council and by its members over the situation and about the future of Iraq.

In resolution 1483 (2003) the Security Council stressed the right of the Iraqi people to freely determine their own political future and to control their own natural resources, encouraged efforts by the people of Iraq to form a representative Government based on the rule of law, and reiterated its resolve that the day when Iraqis govern themselves must come quickly. Those were unequivocal principles set out in resolutions adopted unanimously by the Council, translating the commitment of the international community for a rapid restoration of Iraq's sovereignty.

Secondly, the security situation in Iraq has been a permanent concern of the Security Council and its members. That was clearly spelled out in resolution 1511 (2003), which determined that the provision of security and stability is essential to the successful completion of the political process, and authorized a multinational force to take every necessary measure to contribute to the maintenance of security and stability in Iraq. The Security Council once again expressed its concern about the future of Iraq, as well as its willingness to contribute to the rapid stabilization of the situation, unanimously placing its weight and authority behind the Governing Council and the Coalition Provisional Authority for the attainment of a rapid stabilization of the security situation in Iraq.

Thirdly, we are encouraged by the steps taken by the Governing Council of Iraq and the Coalition Provisional Authority. We are also heartened by the agreement reached on the political process, in response to a Security Council invitation addressed to the Governing Council in resolution 1511 (2003) to provide a timetable and a programme for the drafting of a new Constitution for Iraq and for the holding of democratic elections under that Constitution. In our view, the political sequence set out in the agreement on fully restoring sovereignty to Iraq is a good sign providing a good framework to move Iraq's political process forward. It is our expectation that the benchmarks established in the 15 November agreement will be fulfilled and that, by the end of 2005, a new Government will take over that will have been elected under the new Constitution. Hard work lies ahead for the two entities — the Governing Council and the

Coalition Provisional Authority — especially in a country where daily life has been deeply disrupted and the security situation is shaky.

In conclusion, we encourage the Governing Council and the Coalition Provisional Authority to relentlessly pursue the blueprint established in the agreement. The road ahead may prove to be rocky, hard and treacherous. But it is our expectation that, under the agreement, a framework will emerge enabling the Governing Council and the Coalition Provisional Authority to make progress in the stabilization of the security situation in the country, and that a democratic State based on justice and the rule of law will finally emerge in Iraq.

This is a challenge that we must also face in the Council, as the United Nations, in spite of all the risks involved, is called upon to play a leading role — a role which I think is made more visible by the new political agenda which has been provided by the Council's agreement on resolution 1511 (2003).

I now resume my position as President of the Council. I invite Ambassador Negroponte to respond and comment on the interventions by the various members of the Council.

Mr. Negroponte (United States of America): First, let me thank you, Mr. President, for organizing this meeting today and express thanks for the helpful and constructive comments and questions that have been provided by other members of the Council.

I am not going to try to answer all the questions that were raised here at this meeting. I think there will be opportunities, for example, when the Governing Council submits its formal report in accordance with the timetable of resolution 1511 (2003). We have already been talking with our Bulgarian colleagues about finding a suitable date in the middle of December for scheduling consultations on the subject of Iraq, at which time I think we will be in a position to answer some of those questions in more detail.

But, meanwhile, let me address several of the key points that have been made today. There have been a number of comments to the effect that the security situation in Iraq is alarming. While we would certainly agree that there are some very serious security problems, indeed — and, as I mentioned in my formal remarks, particularly in the centre of the country — there are vigorous steps being taken by the coalition

and by the Iraqis to deal with those questions. We are confident that with the ongoing efforts that are taking place, this situation will be dealt with, and we are determined to assist the people of Iraq in creating the kinds of security conditions that will permit the Iraqi people to live in political peace and in economic prosperity. I outlined for the Council a number of the specific measures that are being taken to bolster Iraqi security capabilities, and I hope, at our next discussion of these questions, to be able to report to the Council even further progress in that regard.

I also mentioned that both President Bush and Prime Minister Blair appealed to our international partners to increasingly participate in the multinational force. I think that it would be yet another way of contributing constructively to the security difficulties that Iraq currently faces. Such participation could take the form of training Iraqi police or military forces. Thus, there are a number of ways in which the international community can be further helpful to the country and the people of Iraq in ameliorating their security conditions.

Lastly, with respect to security, since there has been some mention of the role of regional countries, clearly one of the areas where the regional countries, particularly the neighbours of Iraq, can be helpful is by assisting the security forces of Iraq and the coalition in bringing the borders of Iraq under as tight a control as possible.

Let me turn briefly to the role of the United Nations since that subject was very much on the minds of a number of the delegates who made comments. The essential or basic role of the United Nations, as far as we can see it, is laid out in resolutions 1483 (2003) and 1511 (2003). In my remarks today, I emphasized and repeated what is our well-known position: we believe that the United Nations has a vital role to play in Iraq and we would welcome the return of United Nations international personnel to Iraq to carry out the mandates that have been ascribed to them in the pertinent resolutions. We stand ready to discuss with United Nations officials appropriate security support as envisioned under resolution 1511 (2003).

I might also take this opportunity to note that, of course, it is not only United Nations international personnel that are involved; there are 3,000 to 4,000 national personnel of the United Nations working in Iraq itself. Now, some of those numbers will be

reduced with the termination of the oil-for-food programme, but there are still significant numbers of United Nations personnel working inside Iraq, carrying out various humanitarian programmes. I think we all pay tribute to the heroic efforts that those individuals are making under very difficult circumstances.

There were a number of questions about the political process, particularly from our colleague from the Russian Federation. I think in most instances I will perhaps await the report of the Governing Council to the Security Council, but I want to mention a couple of points. Ambassador Lavrov asked whether the electoral process would take place rapidly enough, referring to the 15 March 2005 deadline for electing a constitutional convention and then the 31 December 2005 deadline for electing a new Iraqi Government. I would point out that those are the outer limits. I would hesitate to predict that those elections could be conducted sooner than that, but I would point out that the agreement stipulates elections and a constitutional convention no later than those dates.

Secondly, I think the essential point with respect to the political process is that the question of drafting a constitution and electing the final Government of Iraq has now been separated from the question of creating an internationally recognized transitional Government, which can happen much sooner as a result of the 15 November agreement. I think that was the important point: to decouple the question of recognizing a sovereign transitional Government of Iraq and allowing some time for the drafting of a constitution and the holding of elections.

Lastly with respect to that question, I would point out that in the very example that has been frequently cited to us in this regard, namely Afghanistan, there has been quite a period of time between the establishment of a transitional Afghan authority and the current process of drafting a constitution with a view to conducting full-scale national elections. That process has already taken more than two years and will run into 2004.

The question of inclusiveness in the political process was raised by a number of delegations. I think that the mechanism that has been described in this agreement between the coalition and the Governing Council does not exclusively limit the Iraqi role to those who are in the Governing Council. There are also provincial and local councils which will be involved.

and efforts are going to be made to ensure the largest possible degree of inclusiveness in this process.

I would like to address just one last set of questions that was put to us by Ambassador Pujalte of Mexico, in which he asked if there is a mechanism for coordination with neighbouring countries. I believe the Governing Council has definitely reached out to all the neighbouring countries and, as you know, one of the policies of the coalition has been to encourage the Governing Council to be as active on the diplomatic front as possible. We have seen a variety of evidence of that, including the Governing Council's participation in Arab League meetings, in meetings here at the United Nations and at the Madrid Conference.

The Ambassador of Mexico also asked about criteria for distinguishing between the various kinds of individuals who might be carrying out some of these terrorists acts in Iraq, whether they are common criminals, or former members of the Baath party or international terrorists. I do not think I can provide an authoritative or definitive answer on that question. Most indications we see point to a probable mixture among all these elements. We also believe that the more the coalition and the Iraqi security forces are able to capture, detain and identify former Baathists — one-time members of the Saddam regime who might be involved in these activities — the more likely the prospect of bringing the security situation under control. But, clearly, this is the kind of question to which we will be able to develop increasingly better answers as time goes on and our intelligence efforts improve.

Those would be a few of my preliminary responses, and, as I said, we will go back over the various questions that have been raised today and look forward to answering them in more detail at a future date.

Sir Emyr Jones Parry (United Kingdom): If I may, I will adopt the same approach as Ambassador Negroponte has. I begin by expressing appreciation for the comments, the questions and the tonality of the questions.

As far as the security situation is concerned, we are trying to tackle it with particular determination, while bearing in mind that, increasingly, it will be for the Iraqis to assume responsibility for their own security. Developing the indigenous capacity is thus very much part of the policy.

I agree with those who have argued that security cannot be tackled in isolation from the political aspect, but there is no simple answer as to whether we must tackle the political aspect before the security aspect or vice versa. The answer is that both processes have to be tackled.

As Ambassador Negroponte said, a better-coordinated approach to intelligence throughout the country is basic. I do not think the criteria for determining who is responsible for the actions is actually the issue. More importantly, we must identify the threat and then act to neutralize it. Frankly, it does not matter where the threat comes from, we have got to get better at prevention on the basis of good intelligence.

We have sought today to give a briefing on the basis of an agreement that everybody has seen, that is on a web site and that is wholly consistent with resolution 1511 (2003). The primary ownership of that agreement is with the Iraqis, so it is for them to communicate formally. But we have sought, in our explanations, to give our understanding of it. There will be a time to consider exactly what it entails and what it constitutes when we have had a formal transmission. But, as I understand it, the Iraqi Governing Council is fully aware of and is working to address the need to meet a deadline and to have that transmission take place quickly.

We recognize, as, again, I hope do all the members of the Iraqi Governing Council, the need to maximize the basis of participation in the caucus elections for the transitional assembly, to ensure that it is actually as representative as possible. It is worth bearing in mind that the caucus election is itself a form of national conference. How, where and when that should be held, again, are matters for the Iraqis, so it is premature for us to try to answer that. But it is clear that the Iraqi Governing Council will have a role — but not a controlling position — in how that assembly is put together.

As far as the United Nations role is concerned, the United Kingdom very much agrees with what Ambassador Negroponte has said. I can separate out three distinct roles: the humanitarian, the developmental and the political. Two of those roles are now being pursued very actively by the United Nations. If we can go beyond that, so much the better and the sooner the better, bearing in mind the capacity

that is available and, in the phrasing of resolution 1511 (2003), the "as circumstances permit" clause, which is crucial. But as far as the United Kingdom is concerned, the sooner the United Nations role is enhanced and the sooner we can take advantage of the many opportunities there are now to interpose the United Nations in a political process, so much the better.

The importance of the relationship with neighbours has been stressed quite rightly. The Governing Council has embarked on visits to some of the neighbours. Can I just add, from the view of the Coalition Provisional Authority, that Jeremy Greenstock, late of this parish, has visited three of the neighbouring capitals for discussion at the highest possible level. But what there is not, at the moment, is a formal machinery to bring together all the neighbours.

Much was said about the military agreement. The practical issue is how and when one can begin to discuss what security arrangements should apply when the transitional Government is in place. And that is why those discussions will take place shortly, because of the military deployments. In terms of being responsible, you have to have those discussions. Our assumption, and, more importantly, an assumption of the Iraqis, is that an international security presence will be available and will be necessary after a transitional Government is put in place.

So the question is, on what basis should that force then be constituted? It will not be the multinational force envisaged in resolution 1511 (2003), it will be something else. But it will operate at the invitation of an Iraqi Government. I hope that it will be recognized in some way by a resolution of the Security Council.

But the technical problems are there to be addressed, not least that of timing, because the multinational force will have come to an end, before there technically is a transitional Government in place. So that phasing needs to be sorted out, but it is not actually all that difficult. The Coalition Provisional

Authority's formal role will come to an end with the creation of the transitional Government. The occupation, technically, will come to an end at the same time. But, as President Bush and Prime Minister Blair said earlier this week, our commitment to the long term in Iraq is clear. The United Kingdom is prepared to continue to provide assistance as part of the international support effort to that provisional transitional Government. But it will be that Government that will have the primary responsibility and obligation to ensure the security of Iraq. We will need to sort out the details, all of us, with the Iraqi ministries and with the arrangements in place. But as far as the United Kingdom is concerned, we again anticipate that bilateral assistance after 30 June will be funnelled through an embassy or a bilateral assistance office.

I would just like to stress one thing about dates. Discussions as to whether some of the dates envisaged in the agreement are too soon or too late actually miss the point. They are indicative dates. What remains to be seen is how the Iraqis themselves actually fit in their wishes against the calendar. But, for the most part, it must be for them to determine how they should work.

In conclusion, despite the problems and the challenges, much is being done. I hope we have persuaded the audience today that, in fact, the effort to produce new facts on the ground has been successful: we have done a lot notwithstanding the security problems, but, of course, a huge amount of additional work needs to be done. Such progress will merit — and indeed will require — continuing commitment by the international community. But we owe it to Iraq to stay the course and see it done.

The President: I thank Sir Emyr Jones Parry for the clarifications he has provided.

There are not further speakers on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.



Security Council

Fifty-eighth year

Provisional

4870th meeting

Monday, 24 November 2003, 10 a.m.
New York

<i>President:</i>	Mr. Gaspar Martins	(Angola)
<i>Members:</i>	Bulgaria	Mr. Tafrov
	Cameroon	Mr. Belinga-Eboutou
	Chile	Mr. Maquieira
	China	Mr. Wang Guangya
	France	Mr. De La Sablière
	Germany	Mr. Pleuger
	Guinea	Mr. Boubacar Diallo
	Mexico	Mr. Pujalte
	Pakistan	Mr. Khalid
	Russian Federation	Mr. Konuzin
	Spain	Ms. Menéndez
	Syrian Arab Republic	Mr. Mekdad
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Emyr Jones Parry
	United States	Mr. Cunningham

Agenda

The situation in Cyprus

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Operation in Cyprus
(S/2003/1078)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.



The meeting was called to order at 10.15 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Cyprus

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Operation in Cyprus (S/2003/1078)

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Operation in Cyprus, document S/2003/1078.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/2003/1114, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it.

I should like to inform the Council that, in my capacity as President of the Council, I have met with

the representatives of the parties, who have confirmed to me that they maintain their well-known positions vis-à-vis the item on the Council's agenda. On the basis of those meetings, as President, with the consent of the members of the Council, I have drawn the conclusion that the Council can proceed to take a decision on the draft resolution before it.

Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by a show of hands

In favour:

Angola, Bulgaria, Cameroon, Chile, China, France, Germany, Guinea, Mexico, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, Syrian Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1517 (2003).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 10.20 a.m.